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LETTERS

FROM

AMERICA,

HISTORICAL AND DESCRIPTIVE;

COMPRISING

OCCURRENCES

FROM 1769, TO 1777, INCLUSIVE.

BY

WILLIAM EDDIS,

LATE SURVEYOR OF THE CUSTOMS, &c. AT ANNAPOLIS, IN MARYLAND.

PER VARIOS CASUS. VIRG.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

AND SOLD BY C. DILLY, IN THE POULTRY.

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INTRODUCTION.

IF an apology for the publication of theſe Letters be thought as neceſſary by the readers as it is by the author, he has only to ſay, and, however hackneyed ſuch excuſe may be conſidered, he can ſay it with great truth, that his appearance in print is more owing to the ſuggeſtion of ſome partial friends, than to his own intentions.

The author arrived on the American continent in the year 1769, and ſettled at Annapolis, under the patronage and protection of the then governor of Maryland: from his ſituation there, he became intimately acquainted with the leading characters of every party in that province, and with every event which occurred ſubſequent to his own arrival, until the unfor-

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tunate miſunderſtanding, which aroſe between the parent ſtate and the colonies, rendered it impoſſible for every one, like him ſincerely and ſteadily attached to the former, to continue in the country.

What he ſaw and obſerved from the firſt period of his reſidence there, he occaſionally communicated to his friends in England; and as he had the opportunity of ſeeing, and obſerving much, it has been conceived by ſome reſpectable characters, for whoſe judgment he has the greateſt deference; that the correſpondence originally intended for private amuſement only, contained matter ſufficiently intereſting to engage the attention of the public.

The former part of theſe letters will be found to give a deſcription of the country, government, trade, manners, and cuſtoms of the inhabitants; the latter, the riſe

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riſe and gradual progreſs of the civil diſſention, which is not perhaps ſo well known, at leaſt ſo far as the province of Maryland was concerned, as are the conſequences which attended it.

The concluſion will not, it is hoped, be thought the leaſt intereſting part of the work, as it repreſents the difficulties and dangers to which the author was expoſed, from his loyalty, and unſhaken attachment, to the Britiſh conſtitution.

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ERRATA.

Page 2, last line, noble *river* Chesapeak; *river* to be omitted, the Chesapeak being a bay or inlet.
5, line 8, for for *Potomac*, read *Patowmac*.
6, 1, ditto ditto
29, 6, for *month*, read *instant*.
83, 4, for *the*, read *he*.
109, 13, for *farming*, read *forming*.
125, 13, for *respectful*, read *respectable*.
127, 1, for *country*, read *county*.
161, 11, for *Potaxent*, read *Pataxent*.
169, 6, for *that*, read *than*.
188, near the bottom, for published at *Boston*, read *Philadelphia*.
190, line 8, *while* tending, omit *while*.
220, 3, for *brethren*, read *brother*.
223, 8, for *approbation*, read *disapprobation*.
230, 14, for *Rousley*-hall, read *Rousby*.
240, 18, for *Curtis*, read *Custis*.
304, 19, *and* therefore, omit *and*.
360, 3, have *been* met, omit *been*.

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LET-

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LETTERS

WRITTEN FROM

AMERICA.

LETTER I.

York Town, Virginia, Aug. 30th, 1769.

I AM, my dear friend, at length ſafely landed on the American continent. Our voyage has been tedious; we have encountered hard gales, and contrary winds; but of theſe I think no more. I am now become an inhabitant of a new world; and I enter into it, not only with the common feelings of a ſtranger, whoſe attention is engaged by the novelty of every ſurround-

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ing object, but with the more intereſting reflexion, that this country is not more new to me than are my hopes and expectations in it; and that I am here, under the patronage of new friends, to engage in new purſuits. With this impreſſion, I cannot but form an ideal connexion between what I ſee, and what I feel. I mean not, however, that this ſhould at all influence the narrative which I ſhall occaſionally tranſmit to you; *that*, as far as is in my power, ſhall contain no more than what may be ſuppoſed naturally to ſuggeſt itſelf to any indifferent ſpectator, whom curioſity or amuſement has carried into a diſtant country.

I will begin with acquainting you, that the ſituation of this town is exquiſitely beautiful, and the adjacent country very romantic and pictureſque. The noble river Cheſapeak is full in view, which, in

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in the narroweſt part, is at leaſt ten miles broad, and runs a courſe of near three hundred, navigable for the largeſt ſhips. Many conſiderable rivers diſcharge themſelves into this bay, by which the advantages of commerce are extended to the interior country; and planters whoſe habitations are far remote from the ocean, receive at their own doors, by water conveyance, the various productions of diſtant nations.

From hence to Annapolis, the deſtined ſcene of my future purſuits, is two hundred miles; for which place I ſhall embark on board a ſchooner, the inſtant I receive my baggage, and hope ſpeedily to impart the particulars of a moſt favourable reception.

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Chesapeak Bay, Sept. 1st.

YESTERDAY I made an excursion to Williamsburgh, the metropolis of Virginia, the situation of which is by no means equal to York Town. The capital where the delegates of the people assemble, is neat and elegant; the college and the governor's palace, are likewise handsome edifices; but I did not distinguish any other buildings which particularly merited observation. I was, however, greatly entertained by the variegated beautiful prospects, lofty woods, and highly cultivated plantations, which presented themselves to me in every direction.

I am now on my passage for Annapolis; a gentle breeze wafts us pleasantly on our course; the day is splendid, and the interesting and magnificent objects which continually strike the eye, infinitely exceed the utmost powers of description.

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Innumerable veſſels of different denominations are floating in every point of view, which add to the grandeur of the ſcene, and impreſs the mind with agreeable ideas of commercial advantages.

The courſe we are ſteering is nearly ſouth; we have paſſed many noble rivers on both ſides the bay, particularly the Potomac, on the weſtern ſhore; which, at the entrance, is ſeveral miles in breadth, and is navigable for ſhips of great burthen to Alexandria, about forty leagues from its influx. At a ſmall diſtance above that place are ſome conſiderable falls, which interrupt the navigation of veſſels further up the country; but I am informed that a plan is in agitation to remove this obſtruction; and ſhould ſucceſs attend the execution, it is ſcarcely conceivable to what an immenſe diſtance commerce may be then extended.

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The Potomac ſeparates Virginia from Maryland; but there are counties belonging to each province on both ſides the bay. In the Maryland government, the diviſion is nearly equal; but in that of Virginia, their territory on the weſtern ſhore is infinitely more extenſive, more populous, and more important than on the eaſtern.

Theſe immenſe waters are diverſified with an infinite number of iſlands of the moſt varied and beautiful appearance. Some are cultivated; others entirely covered with lofty, valuable timber. It is almoſt impoſſible, on viewing the natural advantages of this country, to avoid anticipating the future political and commercial importance of America.

A few weeks ſince, the Thames was the moſt conſiderable river I had ever beheld; it is now, comparatively, reduced to a diminutive

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minutive ſtream: but, may its real importance increaſe to the end of time!—May the wealth of all nations flow in with every tide, to the encouragement of arts and manufactures, and to the general advancement of the riches and proſperity of Britain!

Early to-morrow, I hope to land at Annapolis. The cliffs which bound the entrance of the Severn, are now in view; but the wind is too light, and the diſtance too remote to permit us to entertain a hope of reaching the harbour before morning.

Annapolis, Sept. 4th.

EARLY yeſterday I was ſafely landed at my deſired port. The maſter of the ſchooner conducted me to a tavern, where, after a ſlight repaſt, I made the neceſſary preparations to appear before the Governor.

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My reception was equal to my warmeſt wiſhes. The deportment of Governor Eden was open and friendly. He invited me to meet a party at dinner, and I took leave, till the appointed hour, with a heart replete with joy and gratitude.

Underſtanding that I was in time for divine ſervice, I availed myſelf of an immediate opportunity to offer up my fervent acknowledgements at the throne of grace; and to entreat Heaven to diſpenſe bleſſings on thoſe with whom my fate is inſeparably connected.

The exterior appearance of the church has little to recommend it, but the congregation was numerous. The ſolemn offices were performed with a becoming devotion; and my mind was perfectly in uniſon with the important duties of the day.

On

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On my return to the Governor, he introduced me, in the moſt obliging terms, to ſeveral perſons of the higheſt reſpectability in the province. He treated me with the utmoſt kindneſs and cordiality; aſſured me of his ſtrongeſt diſpoſition to advance my future proſperity, and gave me an unlimited invitation to his hoſpitable table.

I could not but conſider theſe circumſtances of my reception and introduction, as a prelude to future advantages. The pleaſing tranſactions of the day exhilarated my ſpirits; I evidently perceived a prepoſſeſſion in my behalf; I exerted my utmoſt to improve the favourable impreſſion, and retired to reſt with a ſerenity to which I had been long unaccuſtomed.

A ſhip

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A ſhip in the road is preparing to ſail. I have not time to add more. *You* know where remembrances are due, and will impart them. The firſt veſſel that arrives from England will, I truſt, convey pleaſing intelligence of the welfare of my family, and of yourſelf. Under all the eventful circumſtances of life, be aſſured I ſhall remain unalterably yours.

LETTER

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LETTER II.

Annapolis, Oct. 1ſt, 1769.

PREVIOUS to the receipt of your letter, the painful information had arrived, that Powell was no more! He was the valued friend of my early youth, and I ſhall ever cheriſh his remembrance with unabated attachment. To mention his profeſſional excellence is unneceſſary; the unanimous voice of the public having firmly eſtabliſhed his ſuperior pretenſions. Nor need I expreſs my fears, that it is improbable we ſhall quickly "look upon his like again;" for how ſeldom is it that the great requiſites of acting are ſo united in one man, as they were in him! Great, however, as his loſs is to the public, it is ſtill greater to his friends; to

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to thoſe who knew, as we did, his mild and amiable manners; his eaſy and unaffected vivacity; and his uniform candour and benevolence. My feelings on hearing of his death, were much augmented by the particulars of a circumſtance immediately preceding it: After having contended ſeveral days with the violence of his diſorder, nature appeared totally exhauſted, and he had lain, for a conſiderable time, with ſcarce a ſymptom of exiſtence. His ſurrounding friends had mournfully yielded him to his fate; and were expecting each moment the laſt convulſive exertion! when ſuddenly ſtarting, with wonderful expreſſion in his countenance, he repeated the ſpeech in Macbeth, commencing with the words: "Is this a dagger——" tracing with his eye the imaginary movement of the deluſive phantom; then a ſhort period of recollection took place—he appeared conſcious of having been under the influence

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ence of a delirium—invoked Heaven for mercy, and ſunk lifeleſs on his pillow! What a ſtrong inſtance of the ruling paſſion, in his final exit! In him I have loſt a faithful, animated friend; and "friends "grow not thick on every bough." But no more of this—I will endeavour to relieve my mind from the intruſion of melancholy ideas, by attempting to gratify your curioſity reſpecting this place, and its environs.

Annapolis is nearly encompaſſed by the river Severn, and, with every advantage of ſituation, is built on a very irregular plan. The adjacent country preſents a variety of beautiful proſpects, agreeably diverſified with well ſettled plantations, lofty woods, and navigable waters. In our little metropolis, the public buildings do not impreſs the mind with any idea of magnificence, having been chiefly erected during the

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the infancy of the colony, when convenience was the directing principle, without attention to the embelliſhment of art.

The court-houſe, ſituated on an eminence at the back of the town, commands a variety of views highly intereſting; the entrance of the Severn, the majeſtic Cheſapeak, and the eaſtern ſhore of Maryland, being all united in one reſplendent aſſemblage. Veſſels of various ſizes and figures are continually floating before the eye; which, while they add to the beauty of the ſcene, excite ideas of the moſt pleaſing nature.

In the court-houſe, the repreſentatives of the people aſſemble, for the diſpatch of provincial buſineſs. The courts of juſtice are alſo held here; and here, likewiſe, the public offices are eſtabliſhed. This building has nothing in its appearance

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expreſſive of the great purpoſes to which it is appropriated; and by a ſtrange neglect, is ſuffered to fall continually into decay; being, both without and within, an emblem of public poverty, and at the ſame time a ſevere reflection on the government of this country, which, it ſeems, is conſiderably richer than the generality of the American provinces.

The council chamber is a detached building, adjacent to the former, on a very humble ſcale. It contains one tolerable room, for the reception of the governor and his council, who meet here during the ſitting of the aſſembly; and whoſe concurrence is neceſſary in paſſing all laws.

I am not yet enabled, from my own obſervation, to form any accurate judgment reſpecting the political diſpoſition of the coloniſts; but, if the information I have received

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received may be relied on, they attend with a jealous eye to the conduct of their reſpective governors; and to every regulation in the parent ſtate, which relates to their external or internal intereſts. In the northern provinces, a republican ſpirit evidently prevails; and in the middle and ſouthern, they are, perhaps, too ready in taking the alarm, whenever they conceive any meaſures are in agitation which may leſſen their importance, embarraſs their trade, or render them more dependent on the mother country. Almoſt from the commencement of their ſettlements, they have occaſionally combated againſt real, or ſuppoſed innovations; and I am perſuaded, whenever they become populous, in proportion to the extent of their territory, they cannot be retained as Britiſh ſubjects, otherwiſe than by inclination and intereſt. But I am wandering into a wide, unpleaſing field of political diſquiſition, inſtead of

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of purſuing the more agreeable path of deſcription.

The governor's houſe is moſt beautifully ſituated, and when the neceſſary alterations are completed, it will be a regular, convenient, and elegant building. The garden is not extenſive, but it is diſpoſed to the utmoſt advantage; the centre walk is terminated by a ſmall green mount, cloſe to which the Severn approaches; this elevation commands an extenſive view of the bay, and the adjacent country. The ſame objects appear to equal advantage from the ſaloon, and many apartments in the houſe; and perhaps I may be juſtified in aſſerting, that there are but few manſions in the moſt rich and cultivated parts of England, which are adorned with ſuch ſplendid and romantic ſcenery.

The buildings in Annapolis were formerly of ſmall dimenſions, and of an in-

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elegant conſtruction; but there are now ſeveral modern edifices which make a good appearance. There are few habitations without gardens; ſome of which are planted in a decent ſtile, and are well ſtocked.

At preſent, this city has more the appearance of an agreeable village, than the metropolis of an opulent province, as it contains within its limits a number of ſmall fields, which are intended for future erections. But in a few years, it will probably be one of the beſt built cities in America, as a ſpirit of improvement is predominant, and the ſituation is allowed to be equally healthy and pleaſant with any on this ſide the Atlantic.

There is not, however, any probability that Annapolis will ever attain any importance in a commercial point of view: the

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the harbour is not capable of containing many veſſels of conſiderable burthen; and the hazard of being frozen up, for a long period, during winter, is a powerful obſtacle to mercantile purpoſes. It is, however, the ſeat of Government; the public offices are here eſtabliſhed; and as many of the principal families have choſen this place for their reſidence, there are few towns, of the ſame ſize, in any part of the Britiſh dominions, that can boaſt a more poliſhed ſociety.

You cannot travel any conſiderable diſtance in this country, without croſſing rivers, many of them wider than the Thames at Woolwich. Over theſe, regular ferries are eſtabliſhed, at the charge of the reſpective counties; but though every proper method is adopted for expedition, yet ſuch a number of conſiderable waters unavoidably occaſion great delay.

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In the vicinity of Annapolis are many pleaſant villas, whoſe proprietors are eminent for their hoſpitality. Colonel Sharp, the late Governor, poſſeſſes a moſt delightful retirement, about ſeven miles diſtant; his houſe is on a large ſcale, the deſign is excellent, and the apartments well fitted up, and perfectly convenient. The adjacent grounds are ſo judiciouſly diſpoſed, that utility and taſte are every where happily united; and when the worthy owner has completed his extenſive plan, Whitehall will be one of the moſt deſirable ſituations in this, or in any of the neighbouring provinces.

Colonel Sharp has reſided many years in this country, where he has eſtabliſhed a reputation which reflects the higheſt honour on his public capacity, and on his private virtues. This gentleman does not ſeem to entertain any idea of returning to his

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his native land, but appears inclined to ſpend the reſidue of his days, within the limits of a province, which he has ſo long governed with honour to himſelf, ſatisfaction to the people, and fidelity to his ſovereign.

Annapolis, October 19th.

I HAVE lately made an excurſion to the eaſtern ſhore of this province. As the narrative may poſſibly afford you ſome entertainment, I ſhall here endeavour to give you an account of the particulars of our journey.

On the thirteenth inſtant, the governor and his lady, with a party of gentlemen, amongſt whom I had the honour to be included, embarked on board a veſſel properly accommodated for our reception; the weather was remarkably fine, and a pleaſant gale wafted us, in about five hours, to the ſeat of Mr. C———.

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This gentleman reſides on an iſland in the Cheſapeak, about ſeven miles in length, and of different breadth; the whole of which, being his intire property, is well cultivated, and produces great quantities of tobacco, grain, cattle, and ſtock of various kinds; and as it abounds likewiſe with game, the worthy proprietor lives, in a manner, independent of mankind, the monarch of his little fertile territory.

Early on the following morning, ſeveral of the neighbouring gentry viſited the iſland, to pay their reſpects to the governor, and invitations poured in from every quarter. We were, however, under the neceſſity of declining theſe proofs of attention; his Excellency being obliged, on the ſixteenth, to attend ſome provincial concerns in Annapolis. Accordingly, after partaking of a ſubſtantial breakfaſt, in the true American ſtyle, which conſiſted not only

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only of tea, coffee, and the uſual accompaniments, but likewiſe of ham, dried veniſon, beef, and other reliſhing articles, we took leave of our friendly hoſt, ferried over from his iſland to the main land, where carriages were waiting for our accommodation, and proceeded about twenty miles along the banks of the Cheſapeak.

In the courſe of this little tour, we paſſed ſeveral plantations, which not only proclaimed the opulence, but the taſte of their owners. About noon, we arrived oppoſite Kent Iſland, which, on that ſide, is only divided by a narrow ſtream from the main land: we were quickly conveyed to the oppoſite ſhore, and in a ſhort time came to the houſe of Mr. H. where we enjoyed a cheerful evening; and on the following day embarked for the ſeat of government.

Kent Iſland is a narrow tract of land, about twenty miles in length, fertile, and

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well ſettled; many of the inhabitants poſſeſſing not only the comforts, but the elegancies of life. This delectable ſpot forms one pariſh, the clerical emoluments of which afford a comfortable, if not an affluent ſubſiſtence to the incumbent. Kent Iſland ranges along the Bay, at the diſtance of about ten miles from the weſtern ſhore, and beautifully terminates a moſt delightful proſpect, highly variegated with wood and water.

As you cannot but be ſolicitous concerning my views and expectations, you will be glad to learn that they are highly favourable. In England there are few, even in great departments of the ſtate, who poſſeſs ſo extenſive a patronage as the governor of Maryland; and I am perfectly aſſured, that his inclination to promote my intereſt is in full proportion to his ability. But public affairs do not, at this juncture,

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juncture, wear the moſt flattering aſpect. You, who know with what applauſe the repeal of the ſtamp act was received on this ſide the Atlantic, will not be ſurprized to hear, that a revival of the claim of taxation, by laying duties on other articles, has renewed the apprehenſions and diſcontents which had happily ſubſided: and the eſtabliſhment of admiralty courts, during the courſe of the preceding year, appears to have raiſed a determined oppoſition to the proceedings of government. To know where it will terminate is beyond the reach of human penetration. Aſſociations are forming from one extremity of this continent to the other; few appear to diſſent from the popular creed; and it ſeems to be generally admitted, that if the Americans ſteadily adhere to their non-importation agreement, they will from the intereſt, if not from the equity of the Parent State, obtain redreſs of grievances. "Statiſt I

am

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am none, nor like to be;" therefore am by no means competent to deliver my ſentiments on this very alarming ſubject. There are ſome zealots, who are frantic enough to affect a bold language, and to talk of hoſtile meaſures, if arguments and pacific remonſtrances ſhould prove ineffectual; but ſuch men are deſervedly treated with contempt by the wiſe and diſpaſſionate. I am perſuaded, the principal perſons in every government, are not inclined to adopt any meaſures but what are founded on rectitude and moderation, from a ſettled belief, that calm and reſpectful applications from the legiſlative body, will eventually be productive of every deſired conſequence.

But enough of politics. I am looking forward, with impatience, to the day which will reſtore me to thoſe who muſt participate in my good, or evil fortune. Adieu!

LETTER

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LETTER III.

Annapolis, Jan. 15, 1770.

COLONEL F——, a gentleman of conſiderable property, and a member of the council, early in December, engaged the governour, with a circle of ſelect friends, to paſs a few days, during the Chriſtmas vacation, at his ſeat in Calvert County, about ſeventy miles diſtant from Annapolis. Having the honour to be included in the party, I embarked on the twenty-ſecond, with the colonel, on board a ſchooner which he had fitted up for occaſional excurſions; and conſidering the ſeaſon of the year, we had a pleaſant run to the place of our deſtination, which is delightfully ſituated within view of the Cheſapeak, on the fertile banks of the river Patuxent.

Rouſby

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Rouſby Hall, which is the name of my friend's hoſpitable manſion, is as well known to the weary indigent traveller, as to the affluent gueſt. In a country where hoſpitality is the diſtinguiſhing feature, the benevolent owner has eſtabliſhed a pre-eminence, which places his character in an exalted point of view.

The governor, on account of ſome particular engagements, did not quit Annapolis till the twenty-ſixth; and on the thirtieth I accompanied Colonel F—— to the habitation of a gentleman, about twenty miles diſtant, where, by appointment, we met his Excellency, with a numerous party, who had aſſembled to bid him welcome. All the good things of a plentiful country decorated the table of our munificent hoſt; the wines were excellent, and various; and cheerful blazing fires, with enlivening converſation, exhilarated the ſpirits,

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ſpirits, and rendered us totally regardleſs of the rigour of an American winter. On the enſuing day, the whole company proceeded to Rouſby Hall, where we continued, in the full enjoyment of genuine hoſpitality, till the third month; and it was with the utmoſt reluctance we were then permitted to take our departure.

Since we quitted Colonel F——, we have viſited moſt of the principal families in Calvert, St. Mary's, Charles, Prince George's, and Anne Arundel Counties; and were every where received with the moſt obliging proofs of regard and attention. From the ſeverity of the weather, we occaſionally encountered ſome hardſhips and inconveniences, but we were amply compenſated at the end of every ſtage, by excellent accommodations, and ſumptuous fare. Notwithſtanding the dreary ſeaſon, the eye was gratified with many pictureſque and noble objects: we travelled a conſiderable way

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way on the banks of the great river Potowmac, which ſeparates Maryland from Virginia; and though this country is greatly inferior, in its preſent ſtate, to the highly cultivated parts of South Britain, yet, on the whole, it is well ſettled; the generality of the plantations are diſpoſed with the utmoſt regularity, and in very many of the habitations we found elegance as well as comfort.

We paſſed an agreeable evening with a family, nearly oppoſite to Alexandria in Virginia; and, had the weather been moderate, intended to have croſſed the river on a viſit to Major Waſhington, who, as you may recollect, particularly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the tranſactions of the late war: this gentleman has a pleaſant ſeat on the banks of the Potowmac, in the vicinity of the above town, which is named Mount Vernon, where he reſides in full poſſeſſion of univerſal love, and eſteem.

Yeſter-

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Yeſterday we returned ſafe to Annapolis, greatly ſatisfied with our expedition.

February 20.

ON Saturday laſt our little city appeared in all its ſplendor. It was the anniverſary of the proprietary's birth. The governor gave a grand entertainment on the occaſion to a numerous party: the company brought with them every diſpoſition to render each other happy; and the feſtivity concluded with cards, and dancing, which engaged the attention of their reſpective votaries till an early hour.

I am perſuaded there is not a town in England of the ſame ſize as Annapolis, which can boaſt a greater number of faſhionable and handſome women; and were I not ſatisfied to the contrary, I ſhould ſuppoſe that the majority of our belles poſſeſſed every advantage of a long and fami-

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ſiar intercourſe with the manners and habits of your great metropolis.

I am told that beauty in this country is not of long duration: it is alſo aſſerted that, in general, the men do not poſſeſs ſuch good ſtamina as the natives of Great Britain. Though every way equal in genius and enterprize, they are ſuppoſed leſs able to ſupport fatigue, and to encounter the hardſhips of laborious employments.

During the winter there are aſſemblies every fortnight; the room for dancing is large; the conſtruction elegant; and the whole illuminated to great advantage. At each extremity are apartments for the card tables, where ſelect companies enjoy the circulation of the party-coloured gentry, without having their attention diverted by the ſound of fiddles, and the evolutions of youthful performers.

About

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About Chriſtmas an intenſe froſt ſet in, which has continued till a few days ſince, with unremitting ſeverity. Our principal rivers, for ſeveral weeks, have been paſſable for carriages heavily laden; and in particular ſituations, innumerable ſkaters have exhibited on the glaſſy ſurface their feats of dexterity.

It is certainly extraordinary, that in a latitude nearly parallel with Gibraltar, the inhabitants ſhould experience, for a conſiderable duration, a degree of cold to which the northern extremities of the Britiſh Iſlands have never been accuſtomed: this, I am informed, proceeds entirely from local circumſtances; the winds, prevalent in winter, blowing over thoſe immenſe lakes, ſituated to the weſtward of this, and ſome neighbouring provinces, impregnate the air with frigid particles, that make us

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ſenſible of an inclemency equal to that experienced by the ſhivering Laplander.

In this country a heavy ſnow generally precedes the froſt, during the continuance of which the atmoſphere is beautifully ſerene, without any of thoſe pernicious fogs ſo prevalent in your humid climate.

Notwithſtanding the extenſive foreſts that abound throughout this vaſt continent, fuel is an expenſive article in all the conſiderable towns: proviſions are in general cheap, but the price of labour is high, from which circumſtance firing is comparatively dear, even on the moſt œconomical plan. I am, however, perſuaded that, by prudent management, a reſpectable appearance may be ſupported in Maryland, on terms infinitely more reaſonable than in moſt parts of the mother country.

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country; and that greater opportunities are afforded to the induſtrious and enterpriſing, to lay the foundation of a comfortable proviſion for a ſucceeding generation.

I am, &c.

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LETTER IV.

Annapolis, April 2, 1770.

I THANK you, my friend, for your very warm congratulations, on my preſent happy, and promiſing eſtabliſhment. The ſcene is, indeed, reverſed; the remembrance of former diſappointments tends but to excite a grateful ſenſibility of that providential goodneſs which has ſafely conducted me through a maze of difficulties and embarraſſments, reſtored me to all the bleſſings of domeſtic peace, and, apparently placed me in a ſituation that has little to fear from a reverſe of fortune.

You have been rightly informed reſpecting the conduct of our worthy governor. From every obſervation I have, hitherto, been enabled to make, he appears perfectly com-

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competent to the diſcharge of his important duty. Not only in the ſummer, but during the extreme rigour of an American winter, it is his cuſtom to riſe early: till the hour of dinner he devotes the whole of his time to provincial concerns; the meaneſt individual obtains an eaſy, and immediate acceſs to his perſon; he inveſtigates, with accuracy, the complicated duties of his ſtation; and diſcovers, upon every occaſion, alacrity in the diſpatch of buſineſs; and a perfect knowledge of the relative connexions of the country.

Had he been appointed to ſucceed a perſon who had conſulted his private advantage in preference to that of the public; who had been found unequal to the diſcharge of his important truſt, or remiſs in the execution it would have required no extraordinary exertion of abilities to have appeared in a favourable

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point of view. But his immediate predeceſſor, by the invariable rectitude of his conduct, the affability of his manners, and his unremitting attention to the happineſs and proſperity of Maryland, had eſtabliſhed a well merited popularity, which, during an adminiſtration of ſixteen years, continued in full force, and has ſecured to him the unabated love, and attachment of a grateful people.

That our preſent ſupreme magiſtrate poſſeſſes an extenſive capacity for government, is, indeed, obvious to the moſt ſuperficial obſerver; but it may be objected, that experience is yet wanting to confirm his claim to eminent diſtinction. I admit the force of the objection; and will likewiſe acknowledge the influence of partiality. He is my patron! my benefactor! I may poſſibly be animated by the impulſe of gratitude, to delineate his conduct in the ſtrongeſt

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ſtrongeſt colours. To time I therefore leave him, the only true criterion by which any character can be properly eſtabliſhed. To that inconteſtible deciſion he himſelf emphatically appeals in the concluſion of his firſt ſpeech to the general aſſembly of the province. Let me quote a declaration which, ſhould he be found defective, will ſtand recorded to his diſadvantage, and likewiſe prove that I have ſeen through a falſe medium, and have been too precipitate in drawing concluſions.

"Gentlemen of both Houſes,

"I am ſenſible that I ſhall be judged "of by my actions, and not by any aſſu- "rances I may now give you of my fu- "ture conduct. To that teſt I moſt rea- "dily ſubmit, and ſhall be truly happy, "when I leave you, to be able, like my

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" predeceſſor, to lay my hand on my heart,
" in confidence of having acted ſolely on
" the principles here laid down; and of
" having merited, by ſo doing, the thanks
" of thoſe over whom I have the honour
" to preſide."

Maryland is a proprietary government, and owes its original ſettlement to religious motives. In the year 1632, Lord Baltimore, who then poſſeſſed conſiderable influence, obtained a grant of this country from Charles the Firſt, until which time it had been conſidered as a part of Virginia *. The Roman Catholics were, at that period, greatly harraſſed by the Puritans, who were then beginning to become the predominant party; and to ſecure them an aſylum, where they might ſafely

* The royal grant was given on this ſingular condition, that the proprietary ſhould annually preſent, at Windſor Caſtle, two Indian arrows.

profeſs

profeſs their religious tenets, was the motive which induced the above nobleman to ſolicit the grant. Accordingly, in the following year, about two hundred families, of that perſuaſion, ſome of whom were of conſiderable diſtinction, embarked from Ireland for this newly acquired territory, where they were favourably received by the Indian inhabitants, whoſe affection they had the good fortune to conciliate by the liberality of their conduct; inſomuch that they were ſoon enabled to purchaſe extenſive tracts on the moſt moderate terms, and to ſettle their lands to the beſt advantage, without entertaining any anxious apprehenſions from the original poſſeſſors.

During the exiſtence of that illegal power, which had ſubverted the ancient conſtitution both in church and ſtate, the proprietor of Maryland was deprived of his

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his authority and his property; and a governor, appointed by the protector, was ſubſtituted in his ſtead: but at the reſtoration the property of the province reverted to its natural poſſeſſor; Lord Baltimore was reinſtated in his privileges; and quickly demonſtrated, by his diſtinguiſhed conduct, that he had every claim which merit and juſtice could afford. He inſtituted a perfect toleration with reſpect to religion. He gave the utmoſt encouragement to agriculture and to commerce. In conſequence of his judicious exertions, the colony increaſed rapidly in wealth and population, and perſons of all denominations, attracted by the moderation and equity of his government, were emulous to obtain ſettlements under ſo flouriſhing and reſpectable an eſtabliſhment.

At the demiſe of Charles the Second, a weak, arbitrary, and tyrannical monarch ſuc-

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ſucceeded to the throne; during whoſe ſhort, but pernicious adminiſtration, this noble family were again deprived of their poſſeſſion, which had been derived from royal bounty, and had been wonderfully improved, at the expence of infinite labour and proportionable diſburſements. They were, however, again reinſtated, in conſequence of that glorious revolution which eſtabliſhed the Britiſh conſtitution on a firm unalterable baſis.

Though, by this ever-memorable event, the proprietor was reſtored to the profits of the government, yet the right of governing could not, conſiſtently, under the new ſyſtem, be conferred on a Roman Catholic; therefore, until the family renounced that communion, the crown aſſumed the power of appointing the ſupreme magiſtrate.

Lord

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Lord Baltimore, the preſent proprietor, has a right to exerciſe in his own perſon, all the executive offices of government; and in his abſence to nominate one to that department, with the conſent and approbation of his majeſty.

The preſent governor, who married his eldeſt ſiſter, was elevated to that ſituation, a few months before my arrival in the country.

Maryland is divided into fourteen counties, ſeven on the weſtern, and ſeven on the eaſtern ſide of the bay, each of which ſends four repreſentatives to the general aſſembly. The city of Annapolis has likewiſe the privilege of delegating two. Theſe gentlemen form the lower houſe, and, if I may compare ſmall things to great, poſſeſs ſimilar powers with the commons in the Britiſh parliament. The council, is compoſed

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compoſed of ten members, who are nominated by the governor: they have the appellation of honourable, and with them he is to adviſe in all matters reſpecting the general intereſts of the community. During the ſitting of the aſſembly, they become a ſuperior branch of the legiſlature, and their confirmation is eſſential to the paſſing of all laws.

The governor is, in every particular, the repreſentative of the Crown. He appoints the time for the ſitting of both Houſes; his aſſent is neceſſary for the confirmation of their proceedings; and he prorogues or diſſolves them, as appears to him moſt conſiſtent with the authority of Government, and the intereſts of the people.

I have previouſly obſerved, that Maryland was originally ſettled by a colony of Roman Catholicks, who emigrated from

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Ireland early in the laſt century, under the patronage of the then Lord Baltimore. For ſome time the inhabitants of that perſuaſion maintained the entire aſcendancy; but their numbers are at preſent very inconſiderable, and their influence of no weight in the public concerns of the province. They, however, continue to be tolerated, without being permitted to participate in the offices of government. The eſtabliſhed religion is that of the church of England, the members of which communion very greatly exceed the aggregate body of the diſſenters of every denomination.

The province is divided into forty-four pariſhes, many of which are populous and extenſive. The patronage is ſolely veſted in the governor, who is thereby enabled to provide, in an ample manner, for many worthy and reſpectable characters; and when

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when all circumſtances are taken into conſideration, the clergy in this part of the world, will be found to poſſeſs advantages greatly ſuperior to the generality of their brethren in the mother country. Pluralities have never been admitted, the coloniſts being univerſally prepoſſeſſed againſt that practice; and to attempt ſuch an innovation, would excite ferments of a dangerous nature. Each incumbent has a neat and convenient habitation, with a ſufficient quantity of land, in proper cultivation to anſwer every uſeful and domeſtic purpoſe; and the emoluments ariſing from the leaſt beneficial preferment, are amply ſufficient to ſupport an appearance, perfectly conſiſtent with the reſpectability of the clerical profeſſion. The holders of church benefices are alſo happily exempted from the frequent altercations, which unavoidably take place in the mother country, on account of the collection of tythes.

By

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By the laws of this province, all public dues are levied by a poll-tax. The clergy, from this proviſion, are entitled to forty pounds of Tobacco for every perſon within a limited age, at the rate of twelve ſhillings and ſix-pence the hundred weight. Perſons who plant Tobacco have it in their option to pay either in money or in produce; thoſe who do not, are conſtantly aſſeſſed in ſpecie. A liſt of the taxables, properly authenticated, is delivered to the ſheriff of each county, who collects the clerical revenues, with other public claims; and deducting a moderate commiſſion for tranſacting this concern, the reſidue is paid with regularity and diſpatch, to the reſpective incumbents.

As the emoluments of benefices increaſe, in proportion to the increaſe of inhabitants, many benefices in this government are rapidly advancing in value, and

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and muſt, before many years elapſe, very greatly exceed the preſent annual amount. Frederick County, which is conſiderably the moſt extenſive in this province, in its preſent ſtate, is only divided into two pariſhes, one of which, denominated All Saints, I am credibly informed is, at this period, eſtimated at full one thouſand pounds ſterling, *per annum*; and from the great increaſe of population, which is daily taking place in that beautiful and fertile country, it will, very probably, ſoon produce an income little inferior to many Engliſh biſhopricks.

I cannot conceive on what principle the coloniſts are ſo ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the introduction of the epiſcopal order: ſuch an eſtabliſhment would aſſuredly be attended with many local advantages, and ſave much trouble and expenſe to gentlemen

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educated in America for the ſacred function, who, on the preſent ſyſtem, are under the neceſſity of taking a voyage to England for the purpoſe of ordination. Throughout the ſouthern provinces, the members of the eſtabliſhed church greatly exceed thoſe of all other denominations; yet I am perſuaded, any attempt to eſtabliſh an hierarchy, would be reſiſted with as much acrimony as during the gloomy prevalence of puritanical zeal. This ſpirit of oppoſition, to a meaſure ſo evidently conducive to the general good, is the more extraordinary, as the inhabitants of this part of America diſcover, on every poſſible occaſion, an enlarged and liberal diſpoſition. They have, however, conceived ſuch rooted prejudices againſt the higher orders of the church, that they are poſitively perſuaded the advantages to be acquired, by ſuch an inſtitution in the colonies, would by no

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means, counter-balance the evils which might ariſe from it *.

In a political point of view, independent of religious motives, it is much to be lamented, that a plan of this nature was not determined on, before the colonies had arrived to their preſent degree of population

* The eſtabliſhment of epiſcopacy in America, ſince the concluſion of the war, is among thoſe very extraordinary circumſtances which cannot be accounted for by human penetration.

* While the colonies were a part of the Britiſh empire, the introduction of dignitaries was oppoſed with a moſt determined ſpirit, from an opinion, generally conceived, that the powers they would be authoriſed to exerciſe, might eventually be ſubverſive of freedom; but when they were entirely at liberty to adopt any regulations for eccleſiaſtical government, totally independent of the mother country, they voluntarily and unanimouſly ſolicited the conſecration of biſhops.

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tion and conſequence: had an order of nobility been created, and dignitaries in the church appointed at an early period, it would moſt aſſuredly have greatly tended to cheriſh a ſteady adherence to monarchical principles; and have more ſtrongly rivetted

About three years ſince, two clergymen, one from New York, and the other from Philadelphia, arrived in England, and received epiſcopal conſecration. An act of Parliament had previouſly paſſed, for the purpoſe of diſpenſing with the oaths to the Britiſh government, in the caſe of thoſe gentlemen, and in all ſimilar caſes. They were properly recommended hither, by a convention of the clergy in the United States of America; and another of their brethren, ſanctioned in like manner from Virginia, has been lately conſecrated here, as biſhop for that ſtate, under the forementioned authority. So that there are three biſhops now in that country, who will have full power to continue the uninterrupted ſucceſſion, which has exiſted from the days of the apoſtles; not to mention a gentleman who, a conſiderable time before the others, had been conſecrated by the non-juring biſhops in Scotland, and who reſides in Connecticut.

None

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rivetted the attachment of the colonies to the parent ſtate. Inattention to principles of ſuch importance, has gradually given birth to ſentiments totally repugnant to the genius of our moſt excellent conſtitution. A republican ſpirit ap-

None of theſe, however, have any fixed income, but depend upon the voluntary contributions of their reſpective congregations, to whom they regularly preach on ſundays, and officiate as pariſh prieſts. They have the title of *Right Reverend*, but have no particular powers, except that of ordaining deacons and prieſts, and ſuperintending the religious and moral conduct of the clergy, who are, in ſome ſort, rendered accountable to them. It is, I believe, generally allowed, that the members of the epiſcopal church increaſe, throughout all the States, beyond any other denomination, although they are nearly upon an equality with the others, reſpecting the privileges from the civil power. In Britiſh America, there is a biſhop, chiefly reſident in Nova Scotia, who has much the ſame diſtinction with thoſe already particulariſed; but enjoys an eſtabliſhed ſalary of about eleven hundred pounds ſterling a year.

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pears generally to predominate; and it will undoubtedly require the utmoſt exertion of legiſlative wiſdom, to eſtabliſh on a permanent baſis, the future political and commercial connexion between Great Britain and America.

There are many diſcerning and intelligent perſons, who are decidedly of opinion that the acquiſition of Canada is highly prejudicial to the intereſts of the mother country. The Americans are, by this event, relieved from continual apprehenſions; their frontiers are no longer expoſed to the incurſions of a reſtleſs enterpriſing neighbour; and they begin to encourage ideas of ſelf-importance, which have been wonderfully promoted by the ſucceſs attending their recent oppoſition to the operation of the ſtamp duties.

Had

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Had Canada ſtill continued annexed to the French empire, it is evident that the Britiſh provinces, from a well-grounded dread of ſuch numerous and powerful opponents, muſt unavoidably, on a principle of ſelf-preſervation, if not of affection, have remained firmly and indiſſolubly attached to the parent ſtate: a juſt apprehenſion of real calamities would have operated with efficacy againſt imaginary evils; and the natural and conſtitutional dependence of the colonies, on the protection and aſſiſtance of Great Britain, would have promoted a conſtant and mutual interchange of friendly and benevolent offices, which muſt have ſettled the union on a permanent foundation, and on terms reciprocally honourable and advantageous to both countries.

What will be the event of the preſent diſcontents, which, I am truly concerned

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to obſerve, are univerſally predominant, time alone can determine. There are amongſt us, many reſtleſs ſpirits, who are evidently induſtrious in fomenting diviſions, and exciting jealouſies; and unleſs wiſe and conſtitutional meaſures are immediately adopted, there is too much reaſon to apprehend conſequences of a ſerious and alarming nature.

You will think, and with great juſtice, that I have ventured far beyond my depth, in preſuming to deſcant on ſuch important topics; but remember it was you who ſtarted the game; I have only, like an unſkilful rider, followed an irreſiſtible impulſe, and if I retain but my ſeat on the ſaddle, I ſhall be amply ſatisfied.

Adieu! &c.

LETTER

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LETTER V.

Annapolis, June 8th, 1770.

THOUGH we are yet far behind the mother country, with reſpect to cultivation and improvements, yet, in a comparative view, Maryland may boaſt conſiderable advantages. The inhabitants are enterpriſing and induſtrious; commerce and agriculture are encouraged; and every circumſtance clearly evinces, that this colony is making a rapid progreſs to wealth, power, and population.

Proviſions of every kind, are excellent and plentiful; and the Cheſapeak, with our numerous rivers, affords a ſurpriſing variety of excellent fiſh. Poultry, and wild-fowl, abound amongſt the humble cotta-

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cottagers; and beef, mutton, pork, and other provisions, are at least equal to the production of the best British markets.

Deer, a few years since, were very numerous in the interior settlements; but, from the unfair methods adopted by the hunters, their numbers are exceedingly diminished. These people, whose only motive was to procure the hide of the animal, were dextrous, during the winter season, in tracing their path through the snow; and from the animal's incapacity to exert speed, under such circumstances, great multitudes of them were annually slaughtered, and their carcases left in the woods. This practice, however, has been thought worthy the attention of the legislature, and an act of assembly has taken place, laying severe penalties on "persons detected in "pursuing or destroying deer, within a "limited term;" and it is probable, the appre-

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apprehenſion of puniſhment may very greatly reſtrain, if not totally eradicate an evil founded on cruelty and rapacity.

In England, almoſt every county is diſtinguiſhed by a peculiar dialect; even different habits, and different modes of thinking, evidently diſcriminate inhabitants, whoſe local ſituation is not far remote: but in Maryland, and throughout the adjacent provinces, it is worthy of obſervation, that a ſtriking ſimilarity of ſpeech univerſally prevails; and it is ſtrictly true, that the pronunciation of the generality of the people has an accuracy and elegance, that cannot fail of gratifying the moſt judicious ear.

The coloniſts are compoſed of adventurers, not only from every diſtrict of Great Britain and Ireland, but from almoſt every other European government, where the prin-

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principles of liberty and commerce have operated with ſpirit and efficacy. Is it not, therefore, reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that the Engliſh language muſt be greatly corrupted by ſuch a ſtrange intermixture of various nations? The reverſe is, however, true. The language of the immediate deſcendants of ſuch a promiſcuous anceſtry is perfectly uniform, and unadulterated; nor has it borrowed any provincial, or national accent, from its Britiſh or foreign parentage.

For my part, I confeſs myſelf totally at a loſs to account for the apparent difference, between the coloniſts and perſons under equal circumſtances of education and fortune, reſident in the mother country. This uniformity of language prevails not only on the coaſt, where Europeans form a conſiderable maſs of the people, but likewiſe in the interior parts, where population has made but ſlow advances;

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vances; and where opportunities ſeldom occur to derive any great advantages from an intercourſe with intelligent ſtrangers.

You, my friend, are ſeated at the fountain head of literary and political intelligence, and from you I ſhall expect frequent, and circumſtantial communications. Moſt ſincerely do I wiſh you may be enabled to acquaint me, that the firſt tranſaction in the enſuing ſeſſions of parliament, is a total repeal of acts, which are never likely to be productive of any conſiderable revenue; and which are eſteemed in this country, to have no other tendency but to enforce claims, which the coloniſts univerſally conſider as impolitic and unconſtitutional. How far their ſentiments are juſtly founded, I am by no means competent to determine; but it is a certain fact, that the ſtatute impoſing duties on glaſs, paper, and tea, has undermined the foundation of that cordiality,

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cordiality, which the repeal of the ſtamp act had happily re-eſtabliſhed; and it is with the utmoſt concern, I am neceſſitated to acquaint you, that a ſpirit of diſcontent and oppoſition is univerſally predominant in the colonies.

Annapolis, June 14th.

I AM ſure you will take a ſincere part in the happineſs I now experience. My wife and ſon arrived yeſterday from England, and I am again reſtored to the bleſſings of domeſtic life. With their affectionate wiſhes, believe me, &c.

LETTER

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LETTER VI.

Annapolis, Sept. 20, 1770.

YOUR information relative to the ſituation of ſervants in this country, is far from being well-founded. I have now been upwards of twelve months reſident in Maryland, and am thereby enabled to convey to you a tolerable idea on this ſubject.

Perſons in a ſtate of ſervitude are under four diſtinct denominations: negroes, who are the entire property of their reſpective owners: convicts, who are tranſported from the mother country for a limited term: indented ſervants, who are engaged for five years previous to their leaving England; and free-willers, who are ſuppoſed, from

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from their ſituation, to poſſeſs ſuperior advantages.

The negroes in this province are, in general, natives of the country; very few in proportion being imported from the coaſt of Africa. They are better cloathed, better fed, and better treated, than their unfortunate brethren, whom a more rigid fate hath ſubjected to ſlavery in our Weſt India iſlands; neither are their employments ſo laborious, nor the acts of the legiſlature ſo partially oppreſſive againſt them. The further we proceed to the northward, the leſs number of people are to be found of this complexion: In the New England government, negroes are almoſt as ſcarce as on your ſide of the Atlantic, and but few are under actual ſlavery; but as we advance to the ſouth, their multitudes aſtoniſhingly increaſe, and in the

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the Carolinas they conſiderably exceed the number of white inhabitants *.

* Notwithſtanding the climate of North America is leſs favourable to the conſtitution of negroes than the European ſettlements in the Torrid Zone, they nevertheleſs increaſe rapidly in almoſt every part of that extenſive continent. The laſt importation of ſlaves into Maryland was, as I am credibly informed, in the year 1769; and though great loſſes have been ſuſtained in conſequence of the war, and deſertions to the Britiſh ſtandard, their numbers are at leaſt doubled ſince that time, without any foreign ſupply. To account for a circumſtance, apparently ſo improbable, it muſt be obſerved, that on the American continent, the planters generally adopted a more liberal mode in their African intercourſe, than has been purſued in the iſlands. They did not import ſlaves for the ſupply of foreign ſettlements, but purchaſed for their own immediate uſe, without any particular preference to either ſex. The conſequence is obvious, they have multiplied in a due proportion, and notwithſtanding the occaſional ſeverity of the climate, and the recent calamities of war, their numbers are fully ſufficient for their reſpective occupations.

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Maryland is the only province into which convicts may be freely imported. The Virginians have inflicted very ſevere penalties on any maſters of veſſels, or others, who may attempt to introduce perſons under this deſcription into their colony. They have been influenced in this meaſure by an apprehenſion, that, from the admiſſion of ſuch inmates into their families, the prevalence of bad example might tend to univerſal depravity, in ſpite of every regulation, and reſtraining law.

Perſons convicted of felony, and in conſequence tranſported to this continent, if they are able to pay the expence of paſſage, are free to purſue their fortune agreeably to their inclinations or abilities. Few, however, have means to avail themſelves of this advantage. Theſe unhappy beings are, generally, conſigned to an agent, who claſſes them ſuitably to their real or ſuppoſed

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poſed qualifications; advertiſes them for ſale, and diſpoſes of them, for ſeven years, to planters, to mechanics, and to ſuch as chooſe to retain them for domeſtic ſervice. Thoſe who ſurvive the term of ſervitude, ſeldom eſtabliſh their reſidence in this country: the ſtamp of infamy is too ſtrong upon them to be eaſily eraſed: they either return to Europe, and renew their former practices; or, if they have fortunately imbibed habits of honeſty and induſtry, they remove to a diſtant ſituation, where they may hope to remain unknown, and be enabled to purſue with credit every poſſible method of becoming uſeful members of ſociety.

In your frequent excurſions about the great metropolis, you cannot but obſerve numerous advertiſements, offering the moſt ſeducing encouragement to adventurers under every poſſible deſcription; to thoſe

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who are diſguſted with the frowns of fortune in their native land; and to thoſe of an enterpriſing diſpoſition, who are tempted to court her ſmiles in a diſtant region. Theſe perſons are referred to agents, or crimps, who repreſent the advantages to be obtained in America, in colours ſo alluring, that it is almoſt impoſſible to reſiſt their artifices. Unwary perſons are accordingly induced to enter into articles, by which they engage to become ſervants, agreeable to their reſpective qualifications, for the term of five years; every neceſſary accommodation being found them during the voyage; and every method taken that they may be treated with tenderneſs and humanity during the period of ſervitude; at the expiration of which they are taught to expect, that opportunities will aſſuredly offer to ſecure to the honeſt and induſtrious, a competent proviſion for the remainder of their days.

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The generality of the inhabitants in this province are very little acquainted with thoſe fallacious pretences, by which numbers are continually induced to embark for this continent. On the contrary, they too generally conceive an opinion that the difference is merely nominal between the indented ſervant and the convicted felon: nor will they readily believe that people, who had the leaſt experience in life, and whoſe characters were unexceptionable, would abandon their friends and families, and their ancient connexions, for a ſervile ſituation, in a remote appendage to the Britiſh Empire. From this perſuaſion they rather conſider the convict as the more profitable ſervant, his term being for ſeven, the latter only for five years; and, I am ſorry to obſerve, that there are but few inſtances wherein they experience different treatment. Negroes being a property for life, the death

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of ſlaves, in the prime of youth or ſtrength, is a material loſs to the proprietor; they are, therefore, almoſt in every inſtance, under more comfortable circumſtances than the miſerable European, over whom the rigid planter exerciſes an inflexible ſeverity. They are ſtrained to the utmoſt to perform their allotted labour; and, from a prepoſſeſſion in many caſes too juſtly founded, they are ſuppoſed to be receiving only the juſt reward which is due to repeated offences. There are doubtleſs many exceptions to this obſervation, yet, generally ſpeaking, they groan beneath a worſe than Egyptian bondage. By attempting to lighten the intolerable burthen, they often render it more inſupportable. For real, or imaginary cauſes, theſe frequently attempt to eſcape, but very few are ſucceſsful; the country being interſected with rivers, and the utmoſt vigilance obſerved in detecting per-

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ſons under ſuſpicious circumſtances, who, when apprehended, are committed to cloſe confinement, advertiſed, and delivered to their reſpective maſters; the party who detects the vagrant being entitled to a reward. Other incidental charges ariſe. The unhappy culprit is doomed to a ſevere chaſtiſement; and a prolongation of ſervitude is decreed in full proportion to expences incurred, and ſuppoſed inconveniences reſulting from a deſertion of duty.

The ſituation of the free-willer is, in almoſt every inſtance, more to be lamented than either that of the convict or the indented ſervant; the deception which is practiſed on thoſe of this deſcription being attended with circumſtances of greater duplicity and cruelty. Perſons under this denomination are received under expreſs conditions that, on their arrival in America, they are to be allowed a ſtipulated

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number of days to diſpoſe of themſelves to the greateſt advantage. They are told, that their ſervices will be eagerly ſolicited, in proportion to their abilities; that their reward will be adequate to the hazard they encounter by courting fortune in a diſtant region; and that the parties with whom they engage will readily advance the ſum agreed on for their paſſage; which, being averaged at about nine pounds ſterling, they will ſpeedily be enabled to repay, and to enjoy, in a ſtate of liberty, a comparative ſituation of eaſe and affluence.

With theſe pleaſing ideas they ſupport, with cheerfulneſs, the hardſhips to which they are ſubjected during the voyage; and, with the moſt anxious ſenſations of delight, approach the land which they conſider as the ſcene of future proſperity. But ſcarce have they contemplated the diverſified objects which naturally attract attention;

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tion; ſcarce have they yielded to the pleaſing reflection, that every danger, every difficulty, is happily ſurmounted, before their fond hopes are cruelly blaſted, and they find themſelves involved in all the complicated miſeries of a tedious, laborious, and unprofitable ſervitude.

Perſons reſident in America, being accuſtomed to procure ſervants for a very trifling conſideration, under abſolute terms, for a limited period, are not often diſpoſed to hire adventurers, who expect to be gratified in full proportion to their acknowledged qualifications; but, as they ſupport authority with a rigid hand, they little regard the former ſituation of their unhappy dependants.

This diſpoſition, which is almoſt univerſally prevalent, is well known to the parties, who on your ſide of the Atlantic engage

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engage in this iniquitous and cruel commerce. It is, therefore, an article of agreement with theſe deluded victims, that if they are not ſucceſsful in obtaining ſituations, on their own terms, within a certain number of days after their arrival in the country, they are then to be ſold, in order to defray the charges of paſſage, at the diſcretion of the maſter of the veſſel, or the agent to whom he is conſigned in the province.

You are alſo to obſerve, that ſervants imported, even under this favourable deſcription, are rarely permitted to ſet their feet on ſhore, until they have abſolutely formed their reſpective engagements. As ſoon as the ſhip is ſtationed in her birth, planters, mechanics, and others, repair on board; the adventurers of both ſexes are expoſed to view, and very few are happy enough to make their own ſtipulations, ſome

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ſome very extraordinary qualifications being abſolutely requiſite to obtain this diſtinction; and even when this is obtained, the advantages are by no means equivalent to their ſanguine expectations. The reſidue, ſtung with diſappointment and vexation, meet with horror the moment which dooms them, under an appearance of equity, to a limited term of ſlavery. Character is of little importance; their abilities not being found of a ſuperior nature, they are ſold as ſoon as their term of election is expired, apparel and proviſion being their only compenſation; till, on the expiration of five tedious laborious years, they are reſtored to a dearly purchaſed freedom.

From this detail, I am perſuaded, you will no longer imagine, that the ſervants in this country are in a better ſituation than thoſe in Britain. You have heard of con-

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victs who rather chose to undergo the severest penalties of the law, than endure the hardships which are annexed to their situation, during a state of servitude on this side the Atlantic. Indolence, accompanied with a train of vicious habits, has, doubtless, great influence on the determination of such unhappy wretches; but it is surely to be lamented that men, whose characters are unblemished, whose views are founded on honest and industrious principles, should fall a sacrifice to avarice and delusion, and indiscriminately be blended with the most profligate and abandoned of mankind.

It seems astonishing, that a circumstance so well known, particularly in this province, should not have been generally circulated through every part of the British Empire. Were the particulars of this iniquitous traffic universally divulged, those who

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who have eſtabliſhed offices in London, and in the principal ſea-ports, for the regular conduct of this buſineſs, would be pointed out to obloquy, and their puniſhment would ſerve as a beacon to deter the ignorant and unwary from becoming victims to the inſidious practices of avarice and deceit.

I am ready to admit there is every appearance of candour on the part of the agents, and their accomplices. Previous to the embarcation of any perſon under the reſpective agreements, the parties regularly comply with the requiſitions of a law, wiſely calculated to prevent clandeſtine tranſportation; they appear before a magiſtrate, and give their voluntary aſſent to the obligations they have mutually entered into. But are not ſuch adventurers induced to this meaſure in conſequence of ignorance and miſrepreſentation? Aſſuredly they are. They are induſtriouſly

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duſtriouſly taught to expect advantages infinitely ſuperior to their moſt ſanguine views in Britain. Every lucrative incentive is delineated in the moſt flattering colours; and they fondly expect to acquire that independence in the revolution of a few years, which the longeſt life could not promiſe, with the exertion of their beſt abilities, in the boſom of their native country.

I will relieve your attention from this painful ſubject, by relating an anecdote of an intereſting nature, with which I became acquainted ſoon after my arrival in theſe parts.

A gentleman of conſiderable influence and fortune, purchaſed a ſervant as an aſſiſtant to his gardener; having been previouſly informed that he had originally acted in that capacity, and was qualified for the undertaking. The man, ſoon after he

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was brought on ſhore, received inſtructions to enter on his buſineſs, when it was immediately diſcovered, that he was wholly unacquainted with the nature of his employment. On being interrogated relative to this deception, he acquainted his maſter, that "extreme indigence induced him to "abandon his native country—that in the "courſe of the voyage, having intimated "that he had not been brought up to any "mechanical profeſſion, he was informed by the captain, it was abſolutely neceſſary he ſhould avow ſome particular "calling, in order to ſecure a more comfortable ſituation; that in America, a "competent ſkill in gardening was eaſily "attainable, and ſeldom required the exertion of greater talents than what "were immediately eſſential for domeſtic "purpoſes; and that by engaging in "ſuch employment, he might avoid a "more laborious ſervitude, under the "diſci-

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" diſcipline of ſome rigid and inflexible " planter."

This declaration was delivered in terms ſo apparently conſiſtent with truth, as obtained entire credit with his maſter, who from his deportment, and exterior, was likewiſe induced to form ſentiments much to his advantage: he therefore determined to receive him into his family, in the capacity of a domeſtic, and to give him that encouragement, to which he might be entitled by the propriety of his future conduct.

Every ſentiment of gratitude appeared to operate on the mind of the ſervant, when he found himſelf deſtined to a ſtation more comfortable than his original allotment; and, for ſome time, the whole tenor of his actions was ſuch as might ſhew, that he highly merited the indulgence which he had ſo unexpectedly obtained.

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For a few months his diligence and attention ſecured him the entire approbation of his maſter, and he was continually gaining ground on his confidence and eſteem. It was, therefore, with the utmoſt concern, his benefactor began to obſerve an appearance of diſcontent, a diſregard to the duties of his ſtation, and an evident alteration in every particular. Remonſtrances and threats were equally ineffectual: his diſpoſition became ſullen, and reſerved; while he obſtinately refuſed to aſſign any cauſe for ſuch an obvious change in his conduct. At length, he quitted the houſe of his benevolent employer, and by travelling in the night, and lying concealed in the day, he took the proper precautions to elude the vigilance of purſuit.

His plan, though well concerted, was, nevertheleſs, ineffectual. In a few days he was diſcovered, almoſt famiſhed. Ne-

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ceſſity compelled him to ſupplicate the aid of charity: his ſtory was equivocal, and excited ſuſpicion; he obtained relief, but with the detention of his perſon. A magiſtrate, before whom he was conveyed, threatened him with confinement and rigorous treatment, unleſs he gave a proper and ſatisfactory account from whence he came, and the circumſtances which had reduced him to his preſent ſituation. Finding every fallacious pretext fruitleſs, he made a candid and explicit diſcovery, and was, in conſequence, with all poſſible expedition, conducted to the preſence of a maſter, whoſe tenderneſs he had baſely returned with ſuch unpardonable ingratitude.

The moſt compaſſionate nature is ſeldom proof againſt repeated inſtances of an incorrigible diſpoſition. It was therefore thought neceſſary that he ſhould experience

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perience the conſequences of his behaviour, but he was previouſly reminded of the repeated acts of kindneſs that had been ſhown him, and the ungrateful return the had made. From ſuch conſiderations it was obſerved, that it was a debt ſtrictly due to juſtice to compel him to ſerve the reſidue of his time in the moſt laborious employment allotted to worthleſs ſervants. He was accordingly ſentenced to the iron mines, there to reap the bitter effects of his conduct.

Overwhelmed with the conſciouſneſs of guilt, and terrified at the proſpect of the puniſhment that awaited him, the unfortunate culprit, in the moſt ingenuous terms, confeſſed the equity of the ſentence paſſed upon him, but not without an intimation, that there were circumſtances in his caſe which, were they known, he was perſuaded, would plead powerfully in his

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behalf. An irreſiſtable inclination to return to his native country, and the obſtacles which appeared to bar his deluſive hopes, had poſſeſſed his mind with that gloom and diſcontent, which had almoſt obliterated the impreſſions of gratitude, and occaſioned that conduct which had brought him into his preſent ſituation. He concluded by declaring, that he had not the moſt diſtant claim to compaſſion, yet relying on that goodneſs and lenity which he had ſo frequently abuſed, he was encouraged to admit a ray of hope, and to ſupplicate forgiveneſs, however undeſerved.

His humane maſter heard him with the moſt candid attention. He pitied a deviation from rectitude, which originated in motives natural to the human mind; and determined not only to exempt him from the ſituation to which he had been juſtly doomed, but to ſend him, by an early opportunity, to his much loved native coun-

tryt

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try, there to purſue ſuch eligible methods as Providence might ſuggeſt for his future comfortable proviſion. I ſhall not attempt to delineate the tranſports which on this intimation took poſſeſſion of his mind.

About this time, the captain of a ſhip preparing to ſail for England, ſignified his want of a ſteward to attend on thoſe paſſengers who had engaged his cabin for the voyage: the emancipated ſervant was recommended for this employment; his ſervices were accepted; and with ſolemn aſſurances of the moſt laſting and grateful attachment, he bade farewel to a maſter, by whoſe generous, diſintereſted conduct, he was ſo providentially reſtored to happineſs and to liberty.

Two years elapſed without the leaſt intelligence reſpecting his ſituation, when, at length, a letter arrived, filled with every

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ſentiment of gratitude. " His ſenſe of " repeated obligations was acknowledg- " ed in terms which delineated a heart " conſcious of the important benefits he " had experienced; and he concluded by " entreating his late maſter's acceptance " of a bill, as a trifling conſideration for " the reſidue of that time, which he had " been ſo generouſly and humanely ex- " empted from ſerving."

The ſum remitted, very greatly exceeded the original coſt of the moſt valuable ſervant. In this epiſtle, not the leaſt intimation was given, relative to the circumſtance which had enabled a man, ſo lately at the loweſt ebb of miſery, to ſpare from his immediate occaſions, ſo conſiderable a ſum as *thirty pounds*; but an anſwer was requeſted, to be addreſſed to a merchant in London, that the party concerned might be properly apprized his bill was received and acknowledged.

Mr.

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Mr. I— was inexpreſſibly happy in the pleaſing reflection, that, by an indulgence of lenity, natural to his diſpoſition, he had been rendered by Heaven the inſtrument of ſuch unexpected proſperity. He could not, for a moment, admit the idea of appropriating any part of ſuch money to himſelf, as the payment of a debt which he conſidered as a free donation to the claims of humanity; but he was naturally anxious to become acquainted with the particular events by which his late ſervant was ſo happily ſituated as to obtain the power of tranſmitting ſuch a proof of his honeſty and gratitude. He, therefore, immediately addreſſed a letter to the merchant, expreſſive of the "ſatisfaction he expe- "rienced in receiving intelligence of ſuch "an agreeable nature, and deſiring him "to return the note, which he had en- "cloſed for that purpoſe, into the hands "of the party who had conceived it his

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" duty to tranſmit it, with earneſt wiſhes,
" that his future ſucceſſes might amply
" compenſate for every former calamity.
" He had only to requeſt, that by an early
" opportunity, he would afford him the
" ſatisfaction of knowing, by what un-
" expected circumſtance he had been ſo
" rapidly, and ſo providentially favoured
" with the ſmiles of fortune."

By the return of the firſt ſhip, an anſwer from the agent arrived. The bill was ſent back, with an earneſt entreaty, that if Mr. J——— refuſed to apply it to his particular occaſions, he would appropriate it to ſome charitable purpoſe: that with reſpect to the ſituation of the man, formerly his ſervant, there were powerful reaſons which precluded him from giving the information he requeſted. All that he was at liberty to diſcloſe was, that the perſon who had viſited America, under circum-

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circumſtances ſo deſperate and forlorn; who had been neceſſitated to become a common indented ſervant, ſubject to all the hardſhips and miſeries incident to ſo abject a condition, was, by an aſtoniſhing tranſition of fortune, elevated to a very affluent and reſpectable ſituation in his native country.

The above particulars were delivered to me by the benevolent maſter himſelf, who during a courſe of years, has aſſiduouſly endeavoured, by every eligible mode of inquiry, to develop a ſecret ſo induſtriouſly concealed from his knowledge: but every method has hitherto proved ineffectual; and he has now relinquiſhed the idea of having ſo natural a curioſity, even confidentially gratified.

LETTER

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LETTER VII.

Annapolis, Jan. 18, 1771.

YOU obſerve, that in the courſe of my correſpondence, I have not particularly mentioned any towns of conſequence, within the limits of this government. In all probability, from the multitude of rivers which, with their branches, interſect this country in almoſt every direction, Maryland will never abound with ports, or eſtabliſhments of any conſiderable magnitude. By the advantage of ſo many navigable waters, an opportunity is afforded to ſhip the produce of many extenſive diſtricts, even at the doors of the reſpective planters; who, conſequently, have not that inducement, common to moſt countries, for eſtabliſhing themſelves in populous communities.

Frederick

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Frederick County alone, from its interior ſituation, appears precluded from this benefit. But ſhould a plan, now in agitation, to remove the obſtructions in the great river Patowmac, be attended with the deſired conſequences, that very fertile and extenſive country will, in a great meaſure, participate in the advantages which are common to the other parts of the province.

On the arrival of Lord Baltimore, the original proprietor, with thoſe families who had emigrated under the grant which he had obtained from the Crown, the firſt eſtabliſhment was formed on the northern ſhore of the Patowmac. The bounds of a town were aſcertained; temporary habitations were erected; and this place, which was deſtined to be the ſeat of government, was diſtinguiſhed by the name of St. Mary's Town. But in proceſs of time,

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time, that ſituation at the ſouthern extremity of the province, was conſidered to be inconvenient for the diſpatch of public buſineſs; and another ſpot more central was ſelected, which appeared to poſſeſs every poſſible advantage. Proper encouragement was given to promote population; a charter of incorporation was obtained; and the new metropolis, in honour of the then reigning monarch, received the appellation of Annapolis.

In a former letter, I attempted to convey ſome idea of the truly pictureſque and beautiful ſituation of our little capital. Several of the moſt opulent families have here eſtabliſhed their reſidence; and hoſpitality is the characteriſtic of the inhabitants. Party prejudices have little influence on ſocial intercourſe: the grave and ancient enjoy the bleſſings of a reſpectable

ſociety,

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ſociety, while the young and gay have various amuſements to engage their hours of relaxation, and to promote that mutual connexion ſo eſſential to their future happineſs.

You well know, that I have ever been ſtrongly attached to the rational entertainment reſulting from theatrical exhibitions. When I bade farewel to England, I little expected that my paſſion for the drama could have been gratified, in any tolerable degree, at a diſtance ſo remote from the great mart of genius; and I brought with me ſtrong prepoſſeſſions in behalf of favourite performers, whoſe merits were fully eſtabliſhed, by the univerſal ſanction of intelligent judges. My pleaſure and my ſurpriſe were therefore excited in proportion, on finding performers in this country equal, at leaſt, to thoſe who ſuſtain the beſt of the firſt characters in your moſt celebrated provincial

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provincial theatres. Our governor, from a ſtrong conviction that the ſtage, under proper regulations, may be rendered of general utility, and made ſubſervient to the great intereſts of religion and virtue, patronizes the American Company; and as their preſent place of exhibition is on a ſmall ſcale, and inconveniently ſituated, a ſubſcription, by his example, has been rapidly completed to erect a new theatre, on a commodious, if not an elegant plan. The manager is to deliver tickets for two ſeaſons, to the amount of the reſpective ſubſcriptions; and it is imagined, that the money which will be received at the doors, from non-ſubſcribers, will enable him to conduct the buſineſs without difficulty; and when the limited number of performances is completed, the intire property is to be veſted in him. This will be a valuable addition to our catalogue of amuſements. The building is already in a ſtate of

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of forwardneſs, and the day of opening is anxiouſly expected. This circumſtance has carried me inadvertently from my proper ſubject. Give me pardon for the digreſſion. I will return into the road from which I deviated.

Annapolis, with every advantage to render it an agreeable reſidence, labours under inconveniences which will greatly impede its progreſs to commercial importance. The harbour, as I have formerly obſerved, is not ſufficiently commodious for veſſels of conſiderable burden; and the road is too much expoſed, to lade or unlade with ſafety or convenience. But the province has been amply compenſated for this diſappointment, by the riſe of a ſettlement, which in the memory of many perſons now in being, has increaſed with the moſt aſtoniſhing rapidity; and promiſes, by an equal progreſs, to rank with the moſt populous

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and opulent eſtabliſhments on this ſide the Atlantic.

This place, which is named Baltimore, in compliment to the proprietary-family, is ſituated on the northern branch of the river Patapſco, about thirty miles higher up the bay of Cheſapeak than Annapolis; and at nearly the ſame diſtance by land. Within theſe few years ſome ſcattered cottages were only to be found on this ſpot, occupied by obſcure ſtorekeepers, merely for the ſupply of the adjacent plantations. But the peculiar advantages it poſſeſſes, with reſpect to the trade of the frontier counties of Virginia, Pennſylvania, and Maryland, ſo ſtrongly impreſſed the mind of Mr. John Stevenſon, an Iriſh gentleman, who had ſettled in the vicinity in a medical capacity, that he firſt conceived the important project, of rendering this port the grand emporium of Maryland

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land commerce. He accordingly applied himſelf, with aſſiduity, to the completion of his plan. The neighbouring country being fertile, well ſettled, and abounding in grain; Mr. S——— contracted for conſiderable quantities of wheat, he freighted veſſels, and conſigned them to a correſpondent in his native country: the cargoes ſold to great advantage, and returns were made equally beneficial. The commencement of a trade ſo lucrative to the firſt adventurers, ſoon became an object of univerſal attention. Perſons of a commercial and enterpriſing ſpirit, emigrated from all quarters to this new and promiſing ſcene of induſtry. Wharfs were conſtructed; elegant and convenient habitations were rapidly erected; marſhes were drained; ſpacious fields were occupied for the purpoſes of general utility; and within forty years, from its firſt commencement, Baltimore became not only the moſt wealthy

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thy and populous town in the province, but inferior to few on this continent, either in ſize, number of inhabitants, or the advantages ariſing from a well-conducted and univerſal commercial connexion*.

The third place of importance in the province of Maryland, is ſituated about ſeventy miles weſt of Annapolis, and is the capital of a moſt extenſive, fertile, and populous county. Frederick Town is the name of this ſettlement. Within fifty years, the river Monocacy, about three miles to the eaſtward, was the extreme boundary of cultivated eſtabliſhments; and

* Soon after the appointment of Mr. Eden to the government of Maryland, Sir William Draper arrived in that province, on a tour throughout the continent. He contemplated the origin of Baltimore, and its rapid progreſs, with aſtoniſhment; and when introduced, by the governor, to the worthy founder, he elegantly accoſted him by the appellation of the American Romulus.

Mr.

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Mr. D———, father to the preſent ſecretary of the province, was much cenſured for having procured conſiderable tracts of lands, in the vicinity of that river, which it was generally ſuppoſed could not even repay the trifling charge of the purchaſe, for many ſucceeding generations. The richneſs of the ſoil, and the ſalubrity of the air, operated, however, very powerfully to promote population; but what chiefly tended to the advancement of ſettlements in this remote diſtrict, was the arrival of many emigrants from the palatinate, and other Germanic States. Theſe people who, from their earlieſt days, had been diſciplined in habits of induſtry, ſobriety, frugality, and patience, were peculiarly fitted for the laborious occupations of felling timber, clearing land, and forming the firſt improvements; and the ſucceſs which attended their efforts, induced multitudes of their enterpriſing countrymen

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to abandon their native homes, to enjoy the plenteous harveſt which appeared to await their labours in the wild, uncultivated waſtes of America.

The Germans were not the only people ſenſible of the advantages to be derived from eſtabliſhments in this interior country. Many Britiſh adventurers, and natives of the coaſt, where land was becoming ſcarce and difficult to be acquired, were equally emulous on this occaſion; and it is aſtoniſhing how ſoon extenſive foreſts became highly cultivated, and promiſing ſettlements began on all ſides to extend themſelves.

To ſupply the real and imaginary neceſſities of thoſe, by whoſe perſevering efforts, and penetrating genius, immenſe uncultivated tracts became flouriſhing eſtabliſhments, ſtorekeepers of various denomina-

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tions were encouraged to purſue the path which induſtry had pointed out. Warehouſes were accordingly erected, and woollens, linnens, and implements of huſbandry, were firſt preſented to the view of the laborious planter. As wealth and population increaſed, wants were created, and many conſiderable demands, in conſequence, took place for the various elegancies, as well as neceſſaries of life: and thus, by imperceptible degrees, from an humble beginning, has Frederick Town ariſen to its preſent flouriſhing ſtate.

This place exceeds Annapolis in ſize, and in the number of inhabitants. It contains one large and convenient church, for the members of the eſtabliſhed religion; and ſeveral chapels for the accommodation of the German and other diſſenters. The buildings, though moſtly of wood, have a neat and regular appearance. Proviſions

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are cheap, plentiful, and excellent. In a word, here are to be found all conveniences, and many superfluities; a lucrative trade is supported with the back country, and a considerable quantity of grain is sent from hence, by land carriage, to Baltimore, for exportation to the European markets.

The above excepted, there are not any towns of consequence in the province of Maryland; the rest, which bear that denomination, are rather inconsiderable villages, the residence of a few merchants and storekeepers, with a sufficient assortment of goods for the supply of the neighbourhood.

Ship building, throughout this continent, is a very lucrative and extensive branch of business; and I am assured by many, who are esteemed competent judges, that American vessels are, in general, moulded in

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in a very elegant and ſuperior ſtile. The immenſe quantity of uſeful timber to be found, even on the banks of almoſt every river, gives the ſhipwright peculiar advantages. Theſe veſſels, when perfectly completed, excluſive of particular decorations, are freighted with produce to ſome Britiſh port, and are generally ſold after the delivery of their reſpective cargoes.

As an Engliſhman, I cannot but enjoy the reflection, that Great Britain will ever maintain a decided ſuperiority in the durability and intrinſic value of her ſhipping. Were a judgment, indeed, to be formed from external appearances, a caſual obſerver would not fail to decide, as to this article, in favour of Maryland, and the adjacent provinces; American oak, greatly exceeding the Britiſh in ſize and foliage; but when the growth is taken into

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conſideration, a manifeſt advantage is evident in favour of the oaks of Britain. On this continent, this very uſeful and valuable timber attains its higheſt ſtate of perfection in about fifty or ſixty years: the natural conſequence is, that being of a light and porous quality, it will not endure the depredations of time, in any degree equal to that which advances by ſlow degrees to maturity. I have heard it aſſerted, by perſons of undoubted knowledge and experience, that an Engliſh ſhip, formed of ſolid and well-ſeaſoned materials, is worth more after a ſervice of twenty years, than the generality of American veſſels that have ſailed only ſeven.

This reaſon, I think, ſtrongly operates againſt thoſe, who penetrating into futurity, predict that the coloniſts muſt inevitably, before many years are paſſed, be-

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come great and formidable as a maritime power; ſince the neceſſity under which they muſt labour, of frequently rebuilding, in order to ſupport a navy, cannot but be attended with expences that will require immenſe revenues; ſo as always to check their progreſs towards that diſtinction to which they may poſſibly aſpire.

LETTER

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LETTER VIII.

Annapolis, Nov. 2, 1771.

IN this remote region, my dear friend, the phantom pleaſure is purſued with as much avidity as on your ſide of the Atlantic; and certainly with as much gratification, except by the injudicious herd who form ideas of happineſs from compariſon alone.

Our races, which are juſt concluded, continued four days, and afforded excellent amuſement to thoſe who are attached to the pleaſures of the turf; and, ſurpriſing as it may appear, I aſſure you there are few meetings in England better attended, or where more capital horſes are exhibited.

In

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In order to encourage the breed of this noble animal, a jockey club has been inſtituted, conſiſting of many principal gentlemen in this and in the adjacent provinces, many of whom have imported from Britain, at a very great expence, horſes of high reputation.

In America, the mild beauties of the autumnal months amply compenſate for the fervent heats of ſummer, and the rigid ſeverity of winter. Nothing could exceed the charming ſerenity of the weather during theſe races; in conſequence of which there was a prodigious concourſe of ſpectators, and conſiderable ſums were depending on the conteſt of each day. On the firſt, a purſe of one hundred guineas was run for, free only for the members of the club; and on the three following days ſubſcription purſes of fifty pounds each. Aſſemblies, and theatrical repreſentations, were

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were the amuſements of the evening, at which the company exhibited a faſhionable and brilliant appearance.

Our new theatre, of which I gave you an account in a former letter, was opened to a numerous audience the week preceding the races. The ſtructure is not inelegant, but, in my opinion, on too narrow a ſcale for its length; the boxes are commodious, and neatly decorated; the pit and gallery are calculated to hold a number of people without incommoding each other; the ſtage is well adapted for dramatic and pantomimical exhibitions; and ſeveral of the ſcenes reflect great credit on the ability of the painter. I have before obſerved, that the performers are conſiderably above mediocrity; therefore little doubt can be entertained of their preſerving the public favour, and reaping a plenteous harveſt.

Thus

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Thus far on the article of pleaſure. I ſhall conclude with an obſervation of a ſerious nature.

In the courſe of my excurſions, I have converſed with divers intelligent planters, who emigrated to this country, on account of various diſcouraging circumſtances which baffled their utmoſt induſtry at home. A principal cauſe which has been aſſigned by very many for becoming adventurers in this part of the world, is the cuſtom, which is becoming too prevalent in England, of farming extenſive farms, for the accommodation of wealthy tenants, and for greater facility in collecting the rents.

Whatever preſent advantages may ariſe from this practice, be aſſured a perſeverance therein will be attended with conſequences very prejudicial, for by this means a ſenſible depopulation will enſue; a con-

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a conſiderable tract of country will be occupied by few inhabitants, and a multitude of valuable members of the community, will be obliged to abandon their homes and connexions, and to court fortune in a diſtant region, where land may be procured for a trifling conſideration, and where the greateſt encouragement is held out to ſkill and application.

Reaſon and experience inconteſtibly prove that in the number of inhabitants conſiſts the power and proſperity of the ſtate. Agriculture, manufactures, and arts, are founded on population, and a government naturally becomes wealthy and formidable, by the ſtrenuous exertions of induſtrious competition.

LETTER

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LETTER IX.

Annapolis, Dec. 24, 1771.

THE intenſe heat which prevails during the ſummer, and the extremity of cold in winter, I well know has been aſſerted to be highly prejudicial to the conſtitution; though for my own part I have not been ſenſible of any material inconvenience from the oppoſite quality of the ſeaſons, but have continued to enjoy uninterrupted health and ſpirits.

The variations of the weather are certainly more ſudden in this part of America, than even in the changeable climate of Britain. During one part of the day I have frequently thought the lighteſt apparel ſcarcely ſupportable; when in a moment a north-weſt wind has created ſenſations of a very different nature, and a ſubſtantial

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ſuit of broad cloth has ſcarcely been ſufficient to repel the cold.

Whatever you have heard relative to the rigid puritanical principles and economical habits of our American brethren, is by no means true when applied to the inhabitants of the ſouthern provinces. Liberality of ſentiment, and genuine hoſpitality, are every where prevalent; and I am perſuaded they too frequently miſtake profuſeneſs for generoſity, and impair their health and their fortunes, by ſplendor of appearance and magnificence of entertainments.

The quick importation of faſhions from the mother country is really aſtoniſhing. I am almoſt inclined to believe, that a new faſhion is adopted earlier by the poliſhed and affluent American, than by many opulent perſons in the great metropolis; nor are opportunities wanting to diſplay ſuperior elegance. We have varied amuſements, and

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and numerous parties, which afford to the young, the gay, and the ambitious, an extenſive field to contend in the race of vain and idle competition. In ſhort, very little difference is, in reality, obſervable in the manners of the wealthy coloniſt and the wealthy Briton. Good and bad habits prevail on both ſides the Atlantic.

It is but juſtice to confeſs, that the American ladies poſſeſs a natural eaſe and elegance in the whole of their deportment; and that while they aſſiduouſly cultivate external accompliſhments, they are ſtill anxiouſly attentive to the more important embelliſhments of the mind. In converſation they are generally animated, and entertaining, and deliver their ſentiments with affability and propriety. In a word, there are, throughout theſe colonies, very many lovely women, who have never paſſed the bounds of their reſpective provinces, and yet, I am perſuaded, might appear to great

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advantage in the moſt brilliant circles of gaiety and faſhion.

In this country the marriage ceremony is univerſally performed in the dwelling houſes of the parties. The company, who are invited, aſſemble early in the evening, and after partaking of tea and other refreſhments, the indiſſoluble contract is completed. The bride and bridegroom then receive the accuſtomed congratulations: cards and dancing immediately ſucceed: an elegant ſupper, a cheerful glaſs, and the convivial ſong cloſe the entertainment.

There are few places where young people are more frequently gratified with opportunities of aſſociating together than in this country. Beſides our regular aſſemblies, every mark of attention is paid to the patron Saint of each parent dominion; and St. George, St. Andrew, St. Patrick, and St. David, are celebrated with every partial

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tial mark of national attachment. General invitations are given, and the appearance is always numerous and ſplendid.

The Americans on this part of the continent, have likewiſe a Saint, whoſe hiſtory, like thoſe of the above venerable characters, is loſt in fable and uncertainty. The firſt of May is, however, ſet apart to the memory of Saint Tamina, on which occaſion the natives wear a piece of a buck's tail in their hats, or in ſome conſpicuous ſituation. During the courſe of the evening, and generally in the midſt of a dance, the company are interrupted by the ſudden intruſion of a number of perſons habited like Indians, who ruſh violently into the room, ſinging the war ſong, giving the whoop, and dancing in the ſtile of thoſe people; after which ceremony a collection is made, and they retire well ſatisfied with their reception and entertainment.

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In this province there are ſcarce any veſtiges of the original inhabitants, but it does not appear that their numbers have been reduced by any inhuman or indirect practices of the Britiſh ſettlers. In Dorſet County, on the eaſtern ſhore of Maryland, there are indeed rhe remains of a nation, once populous and powerful, who, to this day, retain conſiderable tracts of valuable land, for which they receive an annual conſideration, but by no means equivalent to the real value. When every other Indian nation thought it neceſſary to retire beyond the range of the European ſettlements, theſe people it ſeems determined to continue on their native ſpot. But being precluded from their former occupations and purſuits, they became totally indolent and inactive; and a different habit of living, a violent propenſity to ſpirituous liquors, and the havock occaſioned by the ſmall-pox, and other diſorders, to which they

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they were unaccuſtomed, reduced their numbers to ſuch a degree, that at this time not twenty of their deſcendants remain.

Since no charge of cruelty can juſtly be adduced, it becomes a natural enquiry what is become of thoſe numerous tribes that formerly occupied this fertile territory?

Maryland, comparatively, is a ſmall province, bounded on the weſt by the interior counties of Virginia and Pennſylvania: the Indians, from their particular mode of living, require an extenſive circuit, depending principally on hunting for their ſupport; and wherever their game becomes ſcarce, they inſtantly quit that country for a more eligible ſituation. As this colony became populous, by the arrival and natural increaſe of the new adventurers, the Aborigines were circumſcribed in their ancient limits, and were conſequently induced to relinquiſh their poſſeſſions, for a

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ſuppoſed equivalent, and retire to a more extenſive field of action.

From what cauſe I cannot aſcertain, but the North American Indians have never yet been known to incorporate with Europeans; nor has any progreſs yet been made in civilizing their manners, or in reclaiming them from that ignorance in which they are univerſally involved. Their habits appear rooted beyond the poſſibility of conviction to remove; the preſent moment engroſſes every thought, regardleſs of the events of futurity.

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LETTER X.

Annapolis, Feb. 17, 1772.

IT is true, my friend, that America is rapidly increaſing in population and importance: but a continent ſo extenſive muſt be very thinly inhabited for many generations. Agriculture muſt, therefore, be the grand object of colonial attention, to a very diſtant period. While the people can be more profitably employed, as they now are, in clearing and cultivating land, it will be their intereſt to import the various manufactures of the mother country, it being evident that every ſpecies of goods may be obtained much cheaper, and of a ſuperior quality, through the medium of commercial intercourſe, than by any patriotic exertions amongſt themſelves.

Throughout the whole of the American provinces, there are immenſe tracts of

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unappropriated lands. In every government, offices are eſtabliſhed under regal or proprietary authority, for the purpoſe of granting the ſame to adventurers on ſtipulated terms. As the method of proceeding in this buſineſs is nearly ſimilar in every part of the continent, an account of the mode adopted with us will give you a general idea of this matter. Take, therefore, the following detail, which I have tranſcribed from an official record, for your information.

"All papers relating to the granting of vacant land, within this province, iſſue out and are recorded in the land office; and the mode purſued to effect the grant of ſuch vacant lands, is by warrants, either ſpecial or common. If the lands are cultivated or improved, they cannot be effected by any other than a ſpecial warrant, ſpecifying the particular location and quantity to be effected. And all ſuch warrants

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iſſue in conſequence of an order from the proprietary's agent, intimating that the caution money of five pounds ſterling, *per* hundred acres, is paid. The warrant is directed to the ſurveyor of the county where the land lies, who makes a ſurvey, and returns a certificate thereof into the land office; from whence it is tranſmitted to the examiner general, and after examination, it is again ſent back to the land-office: a patent, or grant, then iſſues on the certificate, ſubject to the payment of an annual rent of four ſhillings ſterling for every hundred acres. The fees attending granting the warrant; of the ſurvey in conſequence; of the examination of the certificate; iſſuing patent thereon; and affixing the great ſeal of the province thereto, will amount to about the ſum of ſeven or eight pounds currency, *per* hundred acres.

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"The ſame mode is exactly purſued in common warrants, to effect uncultivated lands, but the expences are rather leſs.

"It is to be obſerved, the aforeſaid warrants are to effect lands never before taken up. There are other warrants that iſſue out of the land-office, ſuch as warrants of re-ſurvey, eſcheat warrants, and warrants under the proclamation.

"The firſt of theſe are granted to re-ſurvey a tract of land, already patented, and in which the petitioner has a fee-ſimple; and to add all, or any contiguous vacancy, whether cultivated or otherwiſe. This warrant, as well as all others, muſt be executed, or renewed within the firſt ſix months from the time of granting, otherwiſe they are of no force or effect; and any vacant land added, if not paid for within two years from the date of the warrant, (agreeable to ſundry proclamations publiſhed) will become ſubject and liable

to

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to the benefit of the firſt diſcoverer thereof. And hence the proclamation warrants take their riſe, *for they, and no other warrants,* can legally effect lands thus circumſtanced.

" Warrants of Eſcheat, are only granted in inſtances where the original patentees, or perſons claiming under them, have died ſeiſed in fee, inteſtate, and without heirs, of tracts of land heretofore granted, with liberty given of effecting, as well ſuch original tracts of Eſcheat, as any vacant land thereto adjoining. The compoſition money payable, as in the above caſes; with this diſtinction, that the quality of the eſcheat land, and improvements thereon, are more particularly deſcribed by the ſurveyor, and from ſuch deſcription the agent, or receiver-general, aſcertains the real value of the land ſo eſcheated. The petitioner is entitled to one third of the full valuation of the eſcheat for the diſcovery; and the reſidue, together with any vacancy added,

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added, muſt be paid for, to entitle him to a grant. The fees and expences incidental to all theſe warrants, are conſiderably more than in primitive ſurveys, and cannot be particularly aſcertained till the whole buſineſs is compleated.

" By an inſtruction from the Board of revenue, no certificate whatever can be patented, though every requiſite be complied with, till it has lain three months in the office. The intention of this inſtruction is to give perſons who might be injured by the operation of ſecret ſurveys, an opportunity of conteſting ſuch ſurveys by a caveat.

" The land-office, and all offices reſpecting the proprietary's revenue, are, in a great meaſure, ſubject to the control of the board of revenue, which was eſtabliſhed by the late Lord Proprietary. Upon a declaration of a caveat in the land office, if it ſhould be diſſatisfactory to the parties, they

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they may appeal to the board of revenue, and have the matter reheard and determined by them."

The annual revenue of the proprietary, ariſing from the ſale of lands, and the yearly quit rent, after deducting all the various charges of government, averages at twelve thouſand five hundred pounds *per annum*. All offices, excepting thoſe in the ſervice of the cuſtoms, are in his gift, or in the gift of his repreſentative for the time being. This patronage includes a very extenſive range of lucrative, and reſpectful ſtations; and conſequently throws great weight and influence into the ſcale of government.

This influence is conſidered by many, as inimical to the eſſential intereſts of the people; a ſpirit of party is conſequently excited; and every idea of encroachment is reſiſted, by the popular faction, with all the warmth of patriotic enthuſiaſm.

I have

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I have before obſerved, that elections in this province are triennial. The delegates returned, are generally perſons of the greateſt conſequence in their different counties; and many of them are perfectly acquainted with the political and commercial intereſts of their conſtituents. I have frequently heard ſubjects debated with great powers of eloquence, and force of reaſon; and the utmoſt regularity and propriety diſtinguiſh the whole of their proceedings.

During the ſitting of the aſſembly, the members of both houſes receive a ſtated ſum for their attendance on public buſineſs; and the number of days being properly certified, they are regularly paid their reſpective claims at the concluſion of each ſeſſion *.

* Members of the upper houſe, nine ſhillings ſterling *per diem*; thoſe of the lower, about eight ſhillings and ſix-pence.

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Provincial and country magiſtrates are appointed by the governor. The former are commiſſioned to try capital offences, and important cauſes relative to property; the latter preſide in the county courts. They have likewiſe, individually, power to determine cauſes of the value of forty ſhillings; and to inflict puniſhment on ſervants, complaint being regularly made, and the matter proved by their employers.

The governor has a diſcretionary authority to pardon perſons capitally convicted; and by the principles of the conſtitution, he is obliged to ſign all warrants for the execution of thoſe who ſuffer agreeable to ſentence.

A litigious ſpirit is very apparent in this country. The aſſizes are held twice in the year, in the city of Annapolis, and the number of cauſes then brought forward, is really incredible. Though few of the gentlemen who practice in the courts have been

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been regularly called to the bar, there are ſeveral who are confeſſedly eminent in their profeſſion; and thoſe who are poſſeſſed of ſuperior abilities, have full employment for the exertion of their talents, and are paid in due proportion by their reſpective clients.

The natives of theſe provinces, even thoſe who move in the humbler circles of life, diſcover a ſhrewdneſs and penetration, not generally obſervable in the mother country. On many occaſions, they are inquiſitive, even beyond the bounds of propriety; they diſcriminate characters with the greateſt accuracy; and there are few who do not ſeem perfectly converſant with the general, and particular intereſts of the community. An idea of equality alſo ſeems generally to prevail, and the inferior order of people pay but little external reſpect to thoſe who occupy ſuperior ſtations.

LETTER

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LETTER XI.

Annapolis, Sep. 7th, 1772.

I AM juſt returned from an excurſion to the frontiers of this province, in which my curioſity was highly gratified. It is impoſſible to conceive a more rich and fertile country than I have lately traverſed; and when it becomes populous in proportion to its extent, Frederick County will, at leaſt, be equal to the moſt deſirable eſtabliſhment on this ſide the Atlantic.

In the back ſettlements, where the inhabitants are but thinly ſcattered, the face of the country, even at this luxuriant ſeaſon of the year, exhibited in many places a dreary appearance. Lands, to a very conſiderable extent, are taken up by perſons, who looking to futurity for greater advantages, are content to clear gradually ſome portions of their domains for imme-

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diate ſubſiſtence. Not having the means to fell, and carry their timber away, they make a deep inciſion with an axe entirely round each trunk, at the diſtance of about four feet from the ground, which occaſions the leaves almoſt inſtantly to wither; and before the total decay of the tree, Indian corn may be cultivated to great advantage, amidſt the immenſe trunks that fill the dreary foreſt.

To have the idea of winter impreſſed on the mind, from external appearances, at a time when nature is fainting beneath the intenſe heat of an autumnal ſun, is, I am inclined to believe, peculiar to this country. In ſome diſtricts, far as the eye could extend, the leafleſs trees of an aſtoniſhing magnitude crowded on the ſight; the creeping ivy only denoting vegetation; at the ſame time, the face of the earth, was covered with golden crops, which promiſed,

"Richly to repay the anxious toil."

The

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The habitations of the planters, in this remote diſtrict of the province, are, in general, of a rude conſtruction; the timber with which they frame their dwellings, ſeldom undergoing the operation of any tool except the axe. An apartment to ſleep in, and another for domeſtic purpoſes, with a contiguous ſtore-houſe, and conveniences for their live-ſtock, at preſent gratify their utmoſt ambition. Their method of living, perfectly correſponds with their exterior appearance. Indian corn, beaten in a mortar, and afterwards baked or boiled, forms a diſh which is the principal ſubſiſtence of the indigent planter, and is even much liked by many perſons of a ſuperior claſs. This, when properly prepared, is called *homony*, and when ſalt beef, pork, or bacon, is added, no complaints are made reſpecting their fare.

Throughout the whole of this province, fruit is not only plentiful, but excellent in

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various kinds. There are very few plantations unprovided with an apple, and a peach orchard; the peach trees are all ſtandards, and without the aſſiſtance of art, frequently produce fruit of an exquiſite flavour.

In the woods, I have often met with vines, twining round trees of different denominations; and have gathered from them bunches of grapes of a tolerable ſize, and not unpleaſant to the palate. In proceſs of time, when the coloniſts are enabled to pay attention to their natural advantages, they will, aſſuredly, poſſeſs all the ſuperfluities, as well as the conveniences of life, without the neceſſity of recurring to foreign aſſiſtance. Even ſugar, of a tolerable quality, they will be able to manufacture without application to the Britiſh Iſlands. A planter, at whoſe houſe I partook of ſome refreſhment, produced a quantity of that capital luxury, the grain of which was tolerable, and the taſte

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taſte not diſagreeable. This, he aſſured me, was the produce of his own poſſeſſions, extracted by inciſion, from a tree, great numbers of which grow throughout the interior regions of the American provinces *. The ſimple proceſs of boiling, brought the luſcious liquid to a proper conſiſtency; and he was perſuaded, whenever more important concerns would permit a neceſſary attention to this article, the inhabitants of the Britiſh colonies would be amply ſupplied from their own inexhauſtible reſources.

About thirty miles weſt of Frederick-town, I paſſed through a ſettlement which is making quick advances to perfection. A German adventurer, whoſe name is Hagar, purchaſed a conſiderable tract of land in this neighbourhood, and with much diſcernment and foreſight, determined to

* The Maple-tree.

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encouragement to traders, and to erect proper habitations for the ſtowage of goods, for the ſupply of the adjacent country. His plan ſucceeded: he has lived to behold a multitude of inhabitants on lands, which he remembered unocupied; and he has ſeen erected in places, appropriated by him for that purpoſe, more than an hundred comfortable edifices, to which the name of Hagar's Town is given, in honour of the intelligent founder.

LETTER XII.

Annapolis, Oct. 3, 1772.

BY an act of the aſſembly of this province, a reſidence of three years is requiſite as a qualification for holding any office immediately dependent on the proprietary. This regulation affords ſecu-

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rity againſt the intruſion of ſtrangers, who might arrive from the mother country, under a patronage too ſtrong for any local intereſt.

Having happily completed the limited term, I have begun to experience the bounty of my patron, and find myſelf already in poſſeſſion of an office of truſt and reſpectability; and not unauthorized to look forward to a ſtill better proviſion. I hope it is unneceſſary to ſay, that I am content and grateful under ſuch circumſtances, and yet there is ſomething which ſeems to obſcure my proſpect, and to leſſen that happineſs which would otherwiſe be complete.

It is I know both imprudent and culpable, "to ſhape the faſhion of uncertain "evils;" yet it is almoſt impoſſible to avoid drawing unfavourable concluſions from that ſpirit of party which, at this

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time, appears predominant throughout the Britiſh Colonies.

Under pretence of ſupporting the ſacred claims of freedom, and of juſtice, factious and deſigning men are induſtriouſly fomenting jealouſy and diſcontent; and unleſs they are ſtopt in their progreſs by the immediate and determined exertions of the wiſe and moderate, they will aggravate the diſſention which is become but too evident, and involve this now happy country in complicated miſery.

You may remember that I have occaſionally attempted to give my thoughts a poetical dreſs, and you have been pleaſed to favour my humble efforts with your partial indulgence. The following lines, the reſult of reflections on the political ſtate of this empire, I was tempted to give to the editor of the Maryland Gazette, in which they have appeared with ſome degree of approbation.

Bleſt

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Bleſt was that age when, free from madening ſtrife,
The peaceful ſhepherd told his plaintive tale;
And, free from all thoſe cares that harraſs life,
Found real bliſs ſequeſter'd in the vale.

Content alone, with ardor, he purſu'd,
He trac'd her footſteps in the ſhady grove;
His fleecy wealth around he joyous view'd,
And ſung, in artleſs ſtrains, the force of love!

No proud aſpiring thoughts perplex'd his breaſt,
Or ſearch of ſordid gain his peace deſtroy'd;
Blithe was each day—and when he ſunk to reſt,
Sweet were the ſlumbers which he then enjoy'd.

To poliſh life, fair Science rear'd her head,
And numerous arts appear'd to deck the land;
Truths moral, and divine their influence ſhed,
And ſocial virtues clos'd the ſhining band.

O had mankind, with nobleſt views elate,
Improv'd the bleſſings Heaven in bounty gave,
Then had they not ſuppos'd a partial fate,
Or ſhrunk, with horror, from the gloomy grave.

Founded on rapine powerful empires roſe,
And wild Ambition rul'd the human mind,
Fell Diſcord pour'd around her baleful woes,
And friends were faithleſs!—lovers were unkind!

The ſcepter'd tyrant, ſwoln with hopes of fame!
Exulting thunders from the gorgeous car!
Dooms realms to ſlaughter for a pompous name,
And proudly glories in the guilt of war!

By

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By ſtern Oppreſſion ſtruck, the helpleſs poor,
From much-lov'd cottages, and hamlets fly;
Depriv'd of all, from Heaven they aid implore,
Neglected droop, and unlamented die!

Religion! ſent by Heaven to heal each grief,
To point the road where human evils ceaſe;
Give rankling miſery a ſure relief;
And ſooth the warring paſſions into peace;

By bigot Zeal, and Superſtition fir'd,
With horrid Fury ſcatters death around;
And deems that wretch moſt pious,—moſt inſpir'd,
Who ſtrikes, with ruthleſs hand, the direful wound!

Sea-girt Britannia! miſtreſs of the iſles!
Where Faith, and Liberty, united reign;
Around whoſe fertile ſhores glad Nature ſmiles,
And Ceres crowns with gifts the induſtrious ſwain!

Thy generous daring ſons have nobly toil'd,
To guard thy cliffs from arbitrary ſway;
In well fought fields the baffled tyrant foil'd,
Where glorious Freedom led the arduous way!

Now through the land Diſſention ſtalks confeſt;
With foul Diſtruſt, and Hatred in her train;
The dire infection runs from breaſt to breaſt,
And ſtateſmen plan—and patriots plead in vain!

All-gracious Heaven, avert the impending ſtorm,
Bid every jealous, jarring faction ceaſe;
Let ſweet Content reſume her lovely form,
And o'er the land diffuſe perpetual peace:

And,

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And, when again our colours are unfurl'd,
May Britons nobly join one common cauſe!
With rapid conqueſts ſtrike the wondering world,
In firm ſupport of Liberty and Laws.

LETTER XIII.

Annapolis, Feb. 20, 1773.

YOUR obſervations on the reſources of America are well founded. I grant they are infinite, and I am perſuaded that, in proceſs of time, ſhe will be enabled to avail herſelf of innumerable advantages; but thoſe that aſſert ſhe will effectually rival Great Britain in that invaluable ſtaple of her commerce, the *woollen manufactory*, are, indeed, by far too ſanguine in their expectations: coarſe cloths for the wear of ſervants and negroes, the colo-

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coloniſts may probably be enabled to manufacture, but inſurmountable objections ariſe to the production of thoſe of a ſuperior quality.

To judge of this climate, by the parallel degrees of latitude in Europe, it is natural to conclude, that the middle provinces experience very little of the rigour of winter, and that, in fact, their greateſt inconvenience muſt ariſe from intenſe heat, during the ſummer months. But, extraordinary as it may appear, this country, from local circumſtances, is accuſtomed to every ſeverity of the oppoſite ſeaſons. I aſſure you, that I have been leſs ſenſible of the influence of the ſun in the hotteſt ſeaſons in the iſland of Jamaica, than in this part of Britiſh America; and I am credibly informed, that no material difference prevails from New York incluſive, to the ſouthern extremity of Virginia. To the northward of New York the winters continue

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tinue longer; the cold is equally intenſe; and the ſummer, for its ſhort duration, hot in proportion. South of Virginia the climate gradually becomes ſimilar to the torrid zone, conſequently the wool degenerates, in a regular proportion, until the external covering of the ſheep becomes at laſt a ſtrong coarſe hair reſembling that of goats.

In Maryland, and in the adjacent provinces, the cold is more ſevere from January till the beginning of May, than in any part of the iſland of Great Britain; in conſequence of which the American farmer is reduced to the neceſſity of houſing his ſheep during that rigid ſeaſon. Summer may, literally, be ſaid to be ſeated on the lap of winter, and the immediate tranſition from cold to heat is, evidently, extremely prejudicial to the growth and improvement of wool; ſo that in quality it is greatly inferior; nor is the quantity pro-

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produced proportionable to what is yielded in the milder regions of the parent ſtate.

Under theſe diſadvantages it may reaſonably be concluded, that the American ſettlements will ever be neceſſitated to look up to Britain for a very conſiderable ſupply of her invaluable ſtaple. And even if theſe cauſes did not operate, many years muſt unavoidably elapſe before the coloniſts can eſtabliſh or conduct manufactures in ſuch a manner, as to enable them to ſupply, even their own wants, on terms of greater advantage than by relying on external aſſiſtance.

This immenſe continent will require a conſiderable population before the inhabitants can, with any propriety, divert their attention from agriculture. To ſettle, and to cultivate lands muſt be their firſt great object; and the produce of thoſe exertions they muſt barter in exchange for European manu-

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manufactures. In vain is encouragement held forth, to induce ingenious artizans to emigrate from their original ſituations. On their arrival, either the allurements which tempted them deceive their expectations; or the natural wiſh to obtain a permanent eſtabliſhment, ſupercedes every other conſideration, and induces a great majority of theſe adventurers to purchaſe lands which, comparatively, bear no price, and the purchaſers are reduced to rely on time and induſtry to recompence their aſſiduity.

Another circumſtance, very important in its nature, likewiſe demands attention. The price of labour muſt be greatly leſſened before the Americans can poſſibly manufacture to any advantage; and this inconvenience cannot be remedied, until, by an overplus of people, there are competitors in every art, and a ſufficient number of opulent inhabitants to encourage and reward their ingenuity.

At

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At preſent, it is evident, that almoſt every article of uſe or ornament, is to be obtained on much more reaſonable terms from the mother country, than from artizans ſettled on this ſide the Atlantic. It is alſo as certain, that goods of every kind produced, or manufactured in England, are greatly ſuperior to the produce or manufactures of this continent. In proceſs of time, but a time far diſtant, the colonies may, undoubtedly, from their great reſources, be enabled to rival Britain in many valuable articles of commerce. But in your grand ſtaple, the growth and manufacture of wool, you will, in a general point of view, ſtand *ſingle* and *pre-eminent*. Nature, in this particular, has been exuberantly bountiful. Your fertile downs are a ſource of inexhauſtible wealth. Support that ſuperiority, which the benevolence of heaven has bleſt you with, by a judicious and induſtrious exertion of local advantages, and the power

and

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and ſplendor of Great Britain will defy the utmoſt efforts of oppoſition, and remain for ages with undiminiſhed luſtre!

LETTER XIV.

Annapolis, Oct. 4, 1773.

I THANK you, my dear friend, for your very entertaining and very deſcriptive detail of the extenſive improvements now carrying forward in the Britiſh metropolis. If I may preſume to compare ſmall things with great, even here we are making conſiderable advances towards perfection.

About the cloſe of the year 1769, an act of aſſembly was paſſed to erect a new

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ſtadt-houſe, on a very enlarged and beautiful plan. This work has been carried on with great diſpatch, and, when completed, will, at leaſt, be equal to any public edifice on the American continent. The legiſlature of this province, animated by ſentiments which reflect the higheſt credit on their patriotiſm and wiſdom, have alſo determined, by a recent law, to endow and found a college for the education of youth in every liberal and uſeful branch of ſcience. An inſtitution of this nature was moſt ſtrongly recommended to their conſideration by our worthy governor, at an early period after his arrival in this country; and to his laudable and perſevering exertions, the public are materially indebted for the eſtabliſhment of a ſeminary which, as it will be conducted under excellent regulations, will ſhortly preclude the neceſſity of croſſing the Atlantic for the completion of a claſſical and polite education.

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During the adminiſtration of Mr. B——, who preſided over this province from the year 1742, to the year 1747, a noble manſion was projected for the reſidence of the governor of Maryland. A delightful ſituation was appropriated for this purpoſe on the banks of the Severn, within the limits of the city of Annapolis, commanding, in every point of view, the moſt intereſting and beautiful objects. Materials of every kind were provided equal to the ſpirit of public liberality, and the building was nearly completed in a ſtile of ſuperior magnificence, when an unhappy contention took place between the governor and the delegates of the people, which increaſed to ſuch a degree, that, at a period, when a very trifling ſum would have rendered it a noble habitation, the further proſecution of the deſign was diſcontinued, and it has remained to this day, a melancholy and

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mouldering monument of the conſequences reſulting from political diſſentions.

The depredations of time have very greatly injured the interior parts of this edifice, which, in an unfiniſhed ſtate, has continued many years, expoſed to every inclemency of weather. However, on a late accurate ſurvey, the outſide ſtructure, and the principal timbers, are found in a condition ſo perfect, that it is determined to repair the damages ſuſtained, and to apply the building to the purpoſes of collegiate education, for which every circumſtance contributes to render it truly eligible. The adjacent country is open and healthy; the contiguous grounds are ſufficiently extenſive for the advantages of exerciſe and amuſement; and the fabric will contain a variety of ſpacious and commodious apartments for the accommodation of the profeſſors and ſtudents.

Inſti-

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Inſtitutions of this nature are inſeparably connected with the intereſt and happineſs of theſe provinces; but with reſpect to the parent ſtate, they may poſſibly be attended with ſerious conſequences. When the real, or ſuppoſed neceſſity ceaſes of ſending the youth of this continent to diſtant ſeminaries for the completion of their education, the attachment of the colonies to Great Britain will gradually weaken, and a leſs frequent intercourſe will tend to encourage thoſe ſentiments of ſelf-importance which have already taken too deep root, and which, I fear, the utmoſt exertions of political wiſdom will never be able wholly to eradicate. As an Engliſhman I therefore cannot but view, with a partial regret, every adopted plan that may poſſibly, in the event, leſſen or alienate the affection of the coloniſts. And though I am ſenſible the good of the whole ought to ſupercede every private conſideration, yet

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I cannot anticipate the future importance and proſperity of America, without a moſt fervent prayer, that every advantage ſhe may derive from her exertions, may ultimately depend on a permanent and conſtitutional connexion with the mother country.

To the number of public erections, a new church is likewiſe to be added; the deſign of which does great credit to the genius of the architect. It will be large, neat, and commodious; and is to be built on the ſcite of the ancient edifice, from which many materials will be furniſhed. This work is to be executed as ſoon as poſſible; and we may reaſonably expect, if theſe different undertakings are conducted with judgment, and ſpirit, that they will be conſidered as valuable monuments of that refined taſte, which ſo remarkably characteriſes the preſent times.

LETTER

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LETTER XV.

Annapolis, Nov. 8th, 1773.

"AS water to a thirſty ſoul, ſo is news from a far country." Your circumſtantial letter of the fourteenth of September, afforded me the greateſt ſatisfaction: I was at once entertained and inſtructed, by your very judicious and pointed obſervations on the preſent political ſyſtem. The repeal of the ſtamp-act, was a wiſe and neceſſary meaſure: but on what principle ſubſequent laws have been enacted, which have evidently the like tendency, I am at a loſs to determine. Were the duties to be regularly collected, in conſequence of the acts now in force, the revenue ariſing from them, would really be inconſiderable. Nor do the coloniſts ground their objections on the ſums which, by this

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means, would be levied on the importation of the enumerated articles; but they aſſert, that the principle on which they reſiſt the operation of theſe laws, is briefly this: "That they are wholly unconſtitutional: and that to admit their legality in a ſingle inſtance, would undoubtedly be to admit a right, which might be conſidered by the legiſlature of Great Britain, as a ſufficient authority to tax them at ſome future period, in any proportion adequate to the real, or ſuppoſed exigencies of the ſtate." How far they are to be juſtified in this opinion, I am not competent to determine; but it is evident, that on this ſide the Atlantic, a ſpirit of diſcontent univerſally prevails; and there are many deſponding individuals here, and in other provinces, who already pretend to penetrate ſo deep into the events of futurity, as to foretel the moſt ſerious conſequences.

"From trivial cauſe, what mighty evils ſpring!"

For

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For my part, I will not indulge apprehenſions of ſo melancholy a nature.

I have lately received a very ſenſible, and very entertaining letter, from my valued correſpondent, Miſs M—— M——, who informs me that her ſiſter H—— has, at length, complied with the requiſition of many judicious and impartial friends, and has ventured into public notice, in defiance of criticiſm. On the 10th of May laſt, her paſtoral poem, 'THE SEARCH AFTER HAPPINESS,' made its firſt appearance; and ſo rapid has been its ſucceſs, that a ſecond large impreſſion took place early in Auguſt. Lord Lyttelton, whoſe refined taſte, and accurate diſcernment, is univerſally acknowledged, has honoured the amiable author with a letter, expreſſive of his warmeſt approbation; and the public prints are unanimous in bearing teſtimony to her merit. The copy I have received, is in continual circulation, and indeed, it muſt argue a viti-

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a vitiated and depraved judgment in the reader, not to be charmed with a production formed on a plan ſubſervient to the great intereſts of religion and virtue, and decorated with all the graces and embelliſhments of poetry.

After paying this juſt tribute to the talents of a lady who, I truſt, will ſoon attain a diſtinguiſhed rank in the literary world, I ſhall venture to conclude this letter by the inſertion of an epilogue, which I wrote a few months ſince, at the requeſt of a friend, for the benefit of a comedian at the theatre in Philadelphia. As I am informed it was received with approbation by a numerous audience, I ſhall venture, with the greater confidence, to add this little poetical effuſion to your manuſcript collection.

OCCA-

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OCCASIONAL EPILOGUE.

When ſtern Oppreſſion rear'd her baleful head,
To this bleſt clime our free-born fathers fled:
Secure from lawleſs ſway, they chearful toil'd,
And ſoon the grateful glebe with plenty ſmil'd;
Cities aroſe, while Commerce pour'd her ſtore,
And wealth flow'd in from every diſtant ſhore.
Now poliſh'd eaſe, and manners ſhine confeſt,
While ardent Freedom warms each generous breaſt:
Dark brooding Ignorance has wing'd her flight,
And heav'n-born Science beams with radiant light:
The ſiſter arts, with rapid progreſs riſe;
Proud lofty towers and columns reach the ſkies:
The genial virtues here united reign,
And modeſt Merit never ſues in vain.
Among the numerous objects of your care,
Let this, our moral ſtage, your goodneſs ſhare:
Fir'd with your praiſe, dependant ſtill on you,
The ſteep aſcent with ardor we purſue;
No ribald ſcenes we offer to your ſight,
But "ſuch as Virtue views with fond delight."
Bold is the attempt, in various forms to pleaſe,
And, Proteus-like, ſhift every form with eaſe;
In quick tranſition ever yet to move,
From comic humour, to diſaſtrous love!
Trace Nature's paths, nor deviate from her laws,
Which can alone ſecure a juſt applauſe.
I, who am yet a novice on the ſtage,
What claim have I, your favour to engage?
Yet, ſpite of each defect, ſtill have I found,
Beyond my fondeſt hopes, my wiſhes crown'd.

O ſtill

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O ſtill aſſiſt me, while I boldly aim
To catch ſome portion of dramatic fame:
So may kind Heaven repay your generous aid,
And rankling ſorrows ne'er your peace invade;
But, bleſs'd ſupremely, may you ever prove
The ſweets of Liberty!—the joys of Love!

LETTER XVI.

Annapolis, Jan. 3d, 1774.

THE American prints will inform you, ere you receive this, of the recent proceedings at Boſton. The whole quantity of tea, contained on board three veſſels, amounting to three hundred and forty-two cheſts, was on the 16th of December, immerſed in the bay. The Eaſt India Company are the only ſufferers on this occaſion; as all accounts perfectly correſpond in aſſerting, that this haſty buſineſs was tranſacted without the leaſt detriment

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triment to private property. New York, Philadelphia, Charles Town, and other places it is univerſally imagined, will purſue ſimilar meaſures. Vaſt as this continent is, the inhabitants appear animated, to a degree of frenzy, with the ſame ſpirit of oppoſition. Where the conſequences will terminate, Heaven knows! If a judgment may be formed from the preſent diſpoſition of the people, I will venture to aſſert, that not the leaſt future taxation will ever be admitted here, without what they conceive, a legal repreſentation.

As an Engliſhman, warmly attached to my native country, and anxious for its honour and proſperity; I view the impending ſtorm with inexpreſſible inquietude. I fear my friend, our ſtateſmen have promoted meaſures which they will be equally embarraſſed to enforce, or defend. But theſe are matters too high for my diſcuſſion; I deteſt politics, and ſhall, therefore, leave you to make

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make your own comments. I and mine are well; would I could ſay we were perfectly happy! Have I not reaſon to apprehend my eſtabliſhment is not ſo permanent as my flattering ideas had ſuggeſted? Should the ſtorm burſt, it muſt inevitably involve, in the ſame ruin, multitudes who think differently, and are equally actuated by conſcientious principles.

LETTER XVII.

Annapolis, May 28, 1774.

ALL America is in a flame!—I hear ſtrange language every day. The coloniſts are ripe for any meaſures that will tend to the preſervation of what they call, their natural liberty. I encloſe you the reſolves of *our* citizens; *they* have caught

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caught the general contagion*. Expreſſes are flying from province to province. It is the univerſal opinion *here*, that the mother country cannot ſupport a contention with theſe ſettlements, if they abide ſteady to the letter and ſpirit of their aſſociations. Where

* At a meeting of the inhabitants of the city of Annapolis, on Wedneſday, the twenty-fifth day of May, 1774, after notice given of the time, place, and occaſion of this meeting;

Reſolved, "that it is the unanimous opinion of this meeting, that the town of Boſton is now ſuffering in the common cauſe of America, and that it is incumbent on every colony in America, to unite in effectual meaſures to obtain a repeal of the late act of Parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boſton.

"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that if the colonies come into a joint reſolution to ſtop all importation from, and exportations to Great Britain, till the ſaid act be repealed, the ſame will preſerve North America, and her liberties."

Reſolved therefore, "That the inhabitants of this city will join in an aſſociation with the ſeveral counties of this province, and the principal provinces of America, to put an immediate ſtop to all exports to Great Britain, and that after a ſhort day, hereafter to be agreed on, that there ſhall be no imports from Great Britain,

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Where will theſe matters end? Imagination anticipates, with horror, the moſt dreadful conſequences. If the meaſures adopted at home are founded on the principles of juſtice, it will become adminiſtration to be firm and deciſive. If they are not, it

Britain, till the ſaid act be repealed, and that ſuch aſſociation be on oath.

"That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the gentlemen of the law of this province bring no ſuit for the recovery of any debt, due from any inhabitant of this province to any inhabitant of Great Britain, until the ſaid act be repealed.

"That the inhabitants of this city will, and it is the opinion of this meeting, that this province ought immediately to break off all trade and dealings with that colony or province, which ſhall refuſe or decline to come into ſimilar reſolutions with a majority of the colonies.

"That Meſſieurs John Hall, Charles Carroll, Thomas Johnſon, jun. William Paca, Matthias Hammond, and Samuel Chaſe, be a committee for this city, to join with thoſe who ſhall be appointed for Baltimore Town, and other parts of this province, to conſtitute one general committee; and that the gentlemen appointed for this city immediately correſpond with Baltimore town, and other parts of this province, to effect ſuch aſſociation as will ſecure American liberty.

will

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will be adviſeable, even on the ſcore of intereſt, not to abandon the ſubſtance for a ſhadow. True policy will ſuggeſt the expediency of embracing a conciliatory ſyſtem.

June 5th.

The Governor left Annapolis on the twenty-eighth of laſt month, in order to embark for England; where his private concerns require, for a time, his preſence. He is now with his friend, Colonel F——, at the mouth of the Potaxent. His diſpatches are to leave town this evening, as the ſhip will certainly ſail in the courſe of the week.

You will obſerve, that the incloſed reſolutions of the citizens of Annapolis took place in conſequence of the act of Parliament for blocking up the harbour of Boſton.

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The meeting at which theſe reſolutions were paſſed, was on Wedneſday the twenty-fifth of May. But as it was evident that the majority by which they were carried, did not conſiſt of the moſt reſpectable inhabitants, a proteſt made its appearance on the enſuing Monday, ſigned by one hundred and thirty-five perſons *, amongſt whom

*TO THE PRINTERS.

May 30th, 1774.

A publication of the encloſed proteſt, ſupported by the names of a conſiderable number of the inhabitants of the city of Annapolis, will, it is preſumed, furniſh the moſt authentic grounds for determining the ſenſe of the majority, on a queſtion of the laſt importance.

We whoſe names are ſubſcribed, inhabitants of the city of Annapolis, conceive it our clear right, and moſt incumbent duty, to expreſs our cordial and explicit diſapprobation of a reſolution which was carried by forty-ſeven againſt thirty-one, at the meeting held on the 27th inſtant.

The reſolution againſt which we proteſt, in the face of the world, is the following.

" That it is the opinion of this meeting, that the gentlemen of the law of this province, bring no ſuit for the recovery

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whom are to be found many of the firſt importance in this city, and in the neighbourhood. You will, I doubt not, be pleaſed to ſee that I have taken this opportunity of avowing my ſentiments on a ſubject, which equally affects private reputation and public faith.

I need not mention, that it is *a particular reſolution* againſt which the proteſt is levelled; the others being of too popular a nature

recovery of any debt, due from any inhabitant of this province, to any inhabitant of Great Britain, until the ſaid act be repealed."—*Diſſentient.*

Firſt, Becauſe we are impreſſed with a full conviction, that this reſolution is founded in treachery and raſhneſs, in as much as it is big with bankruptcy and ruin to thoſe inhabitants of Great Britain, who, relying with unlimited ſecurity on our good faith and integrity, have made us maſters of their fortunes; condemning them *unheard*, for not having interpoſed their influence with parliament in favour of the town of Boſton, without duly weighing the force, with which that influence would probably have operated; or whether, in their conduct, they were actuated by wiſdom and policy, or by *corruption* and *avarice.*

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a nature to admit of oppoſition. And, indeed, the generality of thoſe who have ventured to aſſert the claims of honour, to diſcharge their pecuniary obligations to the mother country, are conſidered, by the more violent party, as actuated by ſentiments inimical to the intereſts of America: and it is even ſaid, that they would combat every attempt to obtain a repeal of the obnoxious acts, if they were not apprehenſive of incurring the juſt

Secondly, Becauſe whilſt the inhabitants of Great Britain are partially deſpoiled of every legal remedy to recover what is juſtly due to them, no proviſion is made to prevent us from being harraſſed by the proſecution of internal ſuits, but our fortunes and perſons are left at the mercy of domeſtic creditors, without a poſſibility of extricating ourſelves, unleſs by a general convulſion; an event, in the contemplation of ſober reaſon, replete with horror.

Thirdly, Becauſe our credit, as a commercial people, will expire under the wound; for what confidence can poſſibly be repoſed in thoſe, who ſhall have exhibited the moſt avowed, and moſt ſtriking proof that they are not bound by obligations as ſacred as human invention can ſuggeſt.

reſent-

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reſentment of an injured people. For my own part, I verily believe that the majority of the ſubſcribers are influenced by motives which reflect the higheſt credit on their integrity, independent of political conſiderations.

It is here neceſſary that I clear up a ſeeming contradiction. The reſolutions inſerted in the Gazette are dated the twenty-fifth: the proteſt alludes to tranſactions on the twenty-ſeventh. After the publication of the reſolves entered into, in conſequence of the meeting held on the firſt-mentioned day, ſeveral gentlemen of influence and reſpectability had the courage to declare, in the moſt expreſs terms, that if the ſentiments of the people were properly collected, it would not appear that the WHOLE of the proceedings received their unanimous approbation. To obviate this objection, hand-bills were diſtributed, and a general attendance was earneſtly re-

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queſted; in conſequence of which, on the evening of the twenty-ſeventh, a ſecond aſſembly of the citizens took place. But inſtead of aſſociating with that ardor the zealous partizans expected, ONLY ſeventy-eight perſons were muſtered on the important occaſion. Had the whole number of thoſe whoſe principles were directed by moderation, thought it ſafe, or prudent to appear in ſupport of their ſentiments, the iniquitous reſolution, againſt which we have proteſted, would not have publicly appeared, to the diſcredit of our province; even admitting the conduct of Government with reſpect to this continent, to be founded on maxims ſubverſive of the conſtitution. Surely, in a moral point of view, it is highly criminal to attempt, by unjuſt or indirect methods, to obtain a redreſs of the moſt oppreſſive grievances.

In theſe tempeſtuous times, your dear ſiſter ſupports her ſpirits wonderfully; yet are

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are there moments, when ſhe yields to boding apprehenſions, and anticipates the renewal of ſorrows and diſappointments. She has, however, this conſolation to ſupport her, that whatever ſufferings may be our portion, we ſhall ſhare them with each other.

It is my ſolemn determination, without regard to motives of intereſt or ſafety, to act ſtrictly upon principle. And though *my* conduct will be of very little importance, conſidered in a *public* point of view, yet under all the varied circumſtances of proſperity or diſtreſs, the reflection of having acted agreeably to the dictates of conſcience, will enhance the advantages of affluence, or animate the mind to ſuſtain, with becoming fortitude, the moſt painful, and unmerited reverſe of fortune.

That the general tranquility may be ſpeedily re-eſtabliſhed, is the fervent prayer of your faithful, &c.

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LETTER XVIII.

Annapolis, Oct. 26, 1774.

THE general attention is fixed on the Congreſs now ſitting in Philadelphia, and all deſcriptions of people are waiting for the reſult of their deliberations, with the utmoſt impatience.

The Canadà Bill is as unpopular here as the Boſton Port-bill, and adds greatly to the univerſal diſcontent. The provinces are unanimous in the cauſe of their northern brethren, and contribute largely in ſupplying their neceſſities. The ſpirit of oppoſition to miniſterial meaſures, appears to blaze ſteadily and equally in every part of Britiſh America, and unleſs ſome ſpeedy alteration takes place in the political ſyſtem, the conſequences muſt inevitably be dreadful.

Every

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Every well-wiſher to the intereſt and happineſs of the mother country, and her colonies, muſt behold this unnatural conteſt with inexpreſſible anxiety. There never was a period in our hiſtory, more critical that the preſent. It is high time ſome methods were adopted to conciliate theſe growing differences. The colonies are daily gaining incredible ſtrength. They *know*, they *feel*, their importance; and *perſuaſion*, not *force*, muſt retain them in obedience.

A general non-importation agreement will, ſpeedily, take place; and I have reaſon to believe, will be reſolutely adhered to. It is therefore to be feared, the manufacturers and artificers in Britain will be much diſtreſſed, and probably driven to great extremities. For I need not obſerve to a man ſo converſant as you are with the commercial intereſts of the empire, how ſeverely

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ſeverely the mother country muſt ſuffer by an interruption of her extenſive trade with this continent. It is the univerſal doctrine *here*, that it will plunge you into violent commotions, and probably be attended with fatal conſequences *.

A ſerious tranſaction took place, a few days ſince, in this city. The affair is par-

* The ſeparation of America from Great Britain was contemplated, by perſons of all deſcriptions, as pregnant with ruin to both countries. It muſt be granted, that in conſequence of this event very many deſerving individuals have experienced a reverſe of fortune which has ſubjected them to innumerable difficulties and diſtreſſes: but in a political point of view, this dreaded revolution has been attended with circumſtances highly beneficial to the parent ſtate. The ſuperiority of the manufactures of Britain, and the eſtabliſhed knowledge of her merchants in all the articles eſſential for the American market, have given them decided advantages over every rival nation. Similarity of language, cuſtoms, and opinions, likewiſe powerfully operate in favour of the mother country; ſo that, at this period, with every pleaſing proſpect of an uninterrupted continuation, Britain ſupports a more extenſive and a more lucrative commerce with the United States, than at any time during their immediate connexion as a part of her Empire.

partially

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tially repreſented in the Maryland Gazette. I attended the whole progreſs of the buſineſs, and was active in my exertions to prevent the extremities to which ſome frantic zealots proceeded.

On Saturday the fifteenth inſtant, the brig Peggy, Stewart, arrived from London with ſervants, and an inconſiderable quantity of goods, among which were ſeventeen packages, containing two thouſand, three hundred, and twenty pounds of tea, conſigned to Thomas Charles Williams and company, merchants, in Annapolis. This intended importation was immediately diſcovered, and the citizens were ſummoned to a general meeting. On examination it appeared, that Meſſrs. Williams had, on this occaſion, imported a larger quantity of that deteſtable plant, as it is here termed, than by any former opportunity; and that Mr. Anthony Stewart, the proprietor of

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of the veſſel, had paid the duties thereon; though he was not, in any ſhape, concerned in the property. This was deemed a ſubmiſſion to the conteſted claim of the Britiſh Parliament. Very ſevere cenſures were accordingly paſſed on the parties concerned, and a general ſpirit of reſentment appeared to predominate. After various modes of proceeding had been propoſed, and diſcuſſed, it was determined to appoint a committee to attend the veſſel, and prevent the landing of the tea, until the ſenſe of the county could be fully collected. The enſuing Wedneſday was appointed for that purpoſe, and proper meaſures were purſued to give the neceſſary information.

Mr. Stewart, apprehenſive of the conſequences likely to enſue, with great propriety ſolicited a previous meeting of the citizens on the following Monday; truſting that, by a timely ſubmiſſion, meaſures might

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might be taken to prevent the aſſembling of ſo numerous a body as were expected to come in from the country; from whom he had much to fear with reſpect to his perſon and his property.

At this meeting it was propoſed, by the moderate party, that Meſſrs. Stewart and Williams, who were deſirous to make atonement for the offence they had committed, might be permitted to land and burn the tea, in any place that ſhould be appointed for that purpoſe. This motion was, however, ſtrongly oppoſed by others, who inſiſted on matters remaining as they were, until the time appointed for the county meeting, in order that a more public acknowledgment and ſatisfaction might be made.

Mr. Stewart, with a view to moderate the reſentment which his conduct had unhappily occaſioned, diſtributed the following

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ing hand-bill and affidavit, which were alſo publicly read; but without any apparent effect in his favour.

" To the Gentlemen of the Committee, the Citizens of Annapolis, and the Inhabitants of Ann Arundel County.

" Gentlemen,

" I find by a hand-bill, that you are requeſted to meet to take into conſideration what is proper to be done with the tea, the property of Thomas C. Williams and Co. now on board the brig Peggy, Stewart, and finding my conduct cenſured for having paid the duty on that tea to the collector, I take the liberty to preſent a plain narrative of the part I have acted therein, and the motives by which I was actuated. Deeply intereſted as I am in the peace and harmony of this country, no man would be farther than myſelf from taking any

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ſteps to diſturb them. I am not in the leaſt connected with any thing that relates merely to the importation; indeed ſo cautious have I been of infringing in the leaſt, any of the reſolutions of America, that I did not order a ſingle farthing's worth of goods by that veſſel, though I could have done it on ſuch eaſy terms as to freight, and ſhipping charges; much leſs ſhould I have thought of ordering any tea, after the diſturbance which the importation of that article had occaſioned on the continent. When the brig arrived, the captain informed me ſhe was very leaky, and that the ſooner ſhe was unloaded the better. I told him to enter his veſſel, but not the tea, which I found, on enquiry of the collector, could not be done. Under theſe circumſtances, the brig leaky, and fifty-three ſouls on board, where they had been near three months, I thought myſelf bound, both in humanity and prudence, to enter the

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the veſſel, and leave the deſtination of the tea to the committee. The impropriety of ſecuring the duty did not then occur to me, neither did I know the tea would be ſuffered to be lodged as a ſecurity for the payment. I had nothing in view but to ſave the veſſel from a ſeizure, and of having an opportunity of releaſing the paſſengers from a long and diſagreeable confinement. The duty on tea has been paid hitherto, both in Virginia and Maryland, by every importer of goods: in this caſe I am not the importer. If I have erred in my part of the tranſaction, I declare, upon my honour, it is without the leaſt intention; I have infringed no rules preſcribed by the general reſolutions of this province. It happened unluckily, that the tea was put on board of Captain Jackſon's brig, in the manner as will be ſeen by the annexed affidavit; and it can be inconteſtibly proved, the captain refuſed taking tea on board: Mr.

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Mr. Williams was in London when the tea was ſhipped, and muſt have known that many merchants had refuſed to ſhip that article. I have only to add, that I am ſincerely ſorry my conduct, on this occaſion, has been the cauſe of ſo much uneaſineſs, and freely ſubmit it to your candid conſideration.

I am,

Gentlemen,

Annapolis, Oct. 17, 1774. Your moſt humble ſervant,

ANTHONY STEWART."

AFFIDAVIT.

Captain Richard Jackſon, maſter of the brig Peggy Stewart, depoſeth and ſaith, "That immediately after the landing of "his cargo in London, he applied for, and "obtained a *general* permit from the Cuſ- "tom-houſe, to receive *India and other* "*goods* on board for exportation; and, (as "is always cuſtomary in ſuch caſes) gave

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" ſecurity, and took an oath not to re-
" land the ſame in any part of Great Bri-
" tain. But having great reaſon to be-
" lieve any importation of tea would be
" unfavourably received in America, he
" was fully determined, and had reſolved
" not to receive any on board; and pub-
" lickly on the Change of London, in the
" month of July, refuſed to receive tea,
" which was offered to be ſhipped by Kel-
" ly, Lott, and Co. This deponent fur-
" ther ſaith, that by the method of ſhip-
" ping goods from London, *tea* may be
" put on board any ſhip, without the
" knowledge of the maſter. All goods
" are examined at the Cuſtom-houſe, and
" ſent, by the ſhipper, in lighters, on
" board the ſhip, with only a common
" bill expreſſing the parcels, and not the
" quantities contained, or the qualities of
" them; theſe are received by the mate
" of the ſhip, who gives a receipt on the

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" lighter-bill, which is again returned to
" the ſhipper, and the maſter ſigns his bills
" of lading *at London*, by the lighter-bill,
" ſpecifying the parcels, without know-
" ing the contents, and clears out the ſhip
" at the Cuſtom-houſe with merchandize,
" without knowing or mentioning of what
" nature. The cockets containing the
" particulars of each parcel, are ſent by
" the officers of the cuſtoms at London,
" to the Cuſtom-houſe at Graveſend, and
" there lodged to be called for by the cap-
" tain or maſter of the ſhip on his paſſage
" to ſea. In this manner the goods ſhip-
" ped in the Peggy Stewart, were received
" on board: And this deponent further
" ſaith, that he ſaw Thomas Charles Wil-
" liams, to whom the tea is conſigned,
" and Amos Hayton, who ſhipped the
" ſame, frequently in London, neither of
" whom ever mentioned to him their in-
" tention of ſhipping any: That he did

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" not know of any tea being on board,
" until after he had received his cockets
" at Graveſend, and that he would not
" have received the ſame had he known
" thereof.

" RICH. JACKSON."

Sworn before me, this 17th *Oct.* 1774. } PHIL. THOS. LEE.

On Wedneſday, the appearance, agreeable to expectation, was numerous; and the delegated committee were attended by Meſſrs A. Stewart and Williams, who acknowledged the impropriety of their proceeding; and ſigned the humiliating paper, of which the following is a copy.

" We, James Williams, Joſeph Wil-
" liams, and Anthony Stewart, do ſeve-
" rally acknowledge, that we have com-
" mitted a moſt daring inſult, and act of
" the moſt pernicious tendency to the
" liberties

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" liberties of America; we, the ſaid Wil-
" liams's, *in importing the tea*, and ſaid
" Stewart, *in paying the duty thereon*; and
" thereby deſervedly incurred the diſplea-
" ſure of the people now convened, and
" all others intereſted in the preſervation
" of the conſtitutional rights and liberties
" of North America, do aſk pardon for
" the ſame; and we ſolemnly declare, for
" the future, that we never will infringe
" any reſolution formed by the people, for
" the ſalvation of their rights; nor will
" we do any act that may be injurious to
" the liberties of the people: and to ſhew
" our deſire of living in amity with the
" friends of America, we requeſt this
" meeting, or as many as may chooſe to
" attend, to be preſent at any place where
" the people ſhall appoint, and we will
" there commit to the flames, or other-
" wiſe deſtroy, as the people may chooſe,

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" the deteſtable article, which has been
" the cauſe of this our miſconduct.

" ANTHONY STEWART,
" JOSEPH WILLIAMS,
" JAMES WILLIAMS."

Mr. S——, on account of what was deemed a cheerful and ready compliance with an unconſtitutional act of the Britiſh legiſlature, was particularly obnoxious: and though he publicly read his recantation, expreſſed in the moſt ſubmiſſive and penitential terms, there were frantic zealots among the multitude, who warmly propoſed the American diſcipline of tarring and feathering. Others, with a leſs vindictive ſpirit, were clamorous for the deſtruction of the brig, which had imported the hateful commodity: whilſt many others, who indeed were the more numerous party, candidly declared, " that the paper ſigned by the offenders, with their unextorted conſent

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ſent to burn the tea, was a ſufficient puniſhment, and ſatisfaction." But to determine this point with certainty, it was propoſed and aſſented to, that a diviſion ſhould take place on the following queſtion: "Whether the veſſel ſhould, or ſhould not be deſtroyed?" when it was carried in the negative by a conſiderable majority; the citizens, in general, appearing averſe to violent meaſures. But as the minority were chiefly perſons who reſided at a diſtance from Annapolis; as ſome of them had great influence in their neighbourhood; and intimated a determined reſolution to proceed to the utmoſt extremities, the inſtant they could collect ſufficient numbers to ſupport them, Mr. Stewart was induced, from an anxious deſire to preſerve the public tranquillity, as well as to enſure his own perſonal ſafety, to propoſe ſetting fire himſelf to the veſſel; which being immediately aſſented to, he inſtantly repaired on

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board, accompanied by ſeveral gentlemen who thought it neceſſary to attend him, and having directed her to be run on ground, near the wind-mill point, he made a ſacrifice of his valuable property to intemperate zeal and clamour; and in a few hours the brig, with her ſails, cordage, and every appurtenance, was effectually burnt.

By comparing the foregoing account with the circumſtances ſtated in the Maryland Gazette, a manifeſt difference appears. Every ſtep that Meſſrs. Stewart and Williams took in this tranſaction, to the prejudice of their property, ſeems, in that publication, to proceed from a voluntary election, unawed and unintimidated by the multitude: but I need not comment on the abſurdity of ſuch an opinion. The truth is, they deſtroyed property of great value, to prevent worſe conſequences.

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Annapolis, Nov. 2d.

The Congreſs have concluded their deliberations. I have ſeen their reſolves; the aſſociation; the petition to his majeſty; and the addreſſes to Great Britain, to Canada, and to the confederating American colonies.

The petition to the king is not to be publiſhed on this ſide the water, until advice is received of its delivery at St. James's. It was ſent home from Philadelphia, by a ſhip, which by this time, is, probably, far on its way. God knows what influence theſe papers may have in England. If they are ſupported by truth, may they produce effects to the mutual advantage of all parties! The petition is held to be a maſterly performance; firm, explicit, and reſpectful: the Addreſs to Great Britain is thought to be pathetic and perſuaſive; that to Canada, to be founded on

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on ſentiments of liberty and reaſon; and that to the uniting provinces, to be inſtructive and moderating. I have peruſed them with impartial attention, but am not competent to determine on their reſpective merits. It is evident the coloniſts are unanimous, and will ſteadily ſupport the proceedings of their delegates. Our printer is cloſely engaged at the preſs: the whole will make a tolerable pamphlet; and ſhould the publication take place before this packet is diſpatched, I ſhall forward it by the ſame conveyance.

I do not imagine the preſent ſituation of affairs will materially affect you; at leaſt for ſome time: but I and mine are already too ſenſible of the evils attending the conteſt. My income is now conſiderably reduced; trade is already at a ſtand; and on the 1ſt of December, a general

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neral non-importation takes place. Commodities of every kind are, at this early period, become ſcarce and dear. Neither money, or bills can be found; and few people are ſufficiently provided to anſwer the purpoſes of their neceſſary expenditure. Amidſt every ſuffering, the reflection that thouſands of induſtrious manufacturers at home, muſt take their proportion of the impending calamity, gives infinite diſquietude to every honeſt and feeling mind.

The Weſt Indies, will likewiſe ſeverely ſuffer; for without any ſhare in political proceedings, they are doomed to a heavy puniſhment.

Annapolis, Nov. 8th.

The Governor is returned to a land of trouble. He arrived about ten this morning in perfect health. He is now commenced an actor on a buſy theatre; his part a truly

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a truly critical one. To ſtem the popular torrent, and to conduct his meaſures with conſiſtency, will require the exertion of all his faculties. The preſent times demand ſuperior talents; and his, I am perſuaded, will be invariably directed to promote the general good. Hitherto his conduct has ſecured to him a well-merited popularity; and his return to the province has been expected with an impatience which ſufficiently evinces the ſentiments of the public in his favour. May he be enabled to diſcharge his duties to the parent ſtate, and to the country over which he preſides, with unblemiſhed credit, and uninterrupted tranquillity! Encloſed, you have the proceedings of Congreſs, with an inflammatory pamphlet publiſhed at Boſton. Whether the doctrine it contains, correſponds with its title, COMMON SENSE, I ſhall leave you to determine.

LETTER

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LETTER XIX.

Annapolis, March 13th, 1775.

THERE is but too much reaſon to apprehend that the hour is approaching when even the intercourſe of letters will be greatly interrupted, if not totally prohibited.

From one extremity of this continent to the other, every appearance indicates approaching hoſtilities. The buſy voice of preparation echoes through every ſettlement; and thoſe who are not zealouſly infected with the general frenzy, are conſidered as enemies to the cauſe of liberty; and, without regard to any peculiarity of ſituation, are branded with opprobrious appellations, and pointed out as victims to public reſentment.

Very

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Very conſiderable ſubſcriptions have been made in every quarter, for the relief of the Boſtonians: large ſums have likewiſe been collected for the purchaſe of arms and ammunition, and perſons of all denominations are required to aſſociate under military regulations, on pain of the ſevereſt cenſure; every meaſure, while tending to the moſt fatal conſequences, is eagerly and wildly purſued.

Admitting the evils complained of to be founded on reality, the mode adopted to obtain redreſs cannot, in my opinion, be juſtified on principles of reaſon or ſound policy. I have, therefore, refuſed to join in any of the propoſed contributions; to appear in any of their aſſociations; or to enrol in any military corps. I have even attempted to moderate the enthuſiaſm of intemperate zeal, by the following appeal to Common Senſe and Common Equity; which, through the medium of the Maryland

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land Gazette, has been ſubmitted to public inſpection; and if favourable concluſions may be drawn from appearances, it has been received with conſiderable approbation, my letter having already been reprinted in almoſt every paper throughout this continent.

"TO THE PRINTERS.

"The preſent unhappy contention between the *mother country* and her *colonies*, is a matter of the deepeſt concern to every honeſt, every feeling mind: it is, therefore, the indiſpenſable duty of every friend to ſociety, to ſtudy and to purſue thoſe methods, which may lead to a perfect reconciliation, and the eſtabliſhment of a permanent union between *Great Britain* and *America*.

"The principle of *parliamentary taxation* over this extenſive part of the empire, is gene-

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generally denied by all ranks, and denominations of men; the grand ſubject of controverſy, therefore, that prevails at preſent, reſpects *the moſt eligible method to obtain redreſs*. On this point, there appears a diviſion of ſentiment, which has given riſe to *heart-burnings and diſcontent*; and, in ſome degree, ſtruck at the root of that harmony which, at this important period, ought to *guide* and *influence* every action.

" In oppoſition to meaſures dictated by *calmneſs* and *moderation*, (a ſteady adherence to which, it was generally ſuppoſed, would be attended with the moſt happy effects) *a military appearance* is aſſumed—*ſubſcriptions* are induſtriouſly making for the purchaſe of *arms*, *ammunition*, &c. and the *ſevereſt cenſure* is indiſcriminately paſſed on thoſe perſons who happen to diſſent from the popular opinion, and prefer more conciliating methods of accommodation.

" It

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"It is certain that there are many in *this*, and other *provinces*, who object to the ſpirit of violence, which ſeems at this time too predominant. Convinced of the propriety of their ſentiments, and the integrity of their hearts, they conceive the cauſe of America may be *totally injured* by a precipitate, and unneceſſary defiance of the power of Great Britain: they firmly believe, that a reſpectful behaviour to their *ſovereign* and their *mother country*—a dutiful and conſtitutional application to the *throne*—and a firm perſeverance in *virtuous*, though *pacific principles*, will, in the iſſue, be productive of the moſt felicitous conſequences. Actuated by ſuch conſiderations, they cannot be reconciled to thoſe violent extremes which have been too raſhly adopted by many; and which they are anxious to eſtabliſh, as the *only* feaſible plan of terminating the preſent diſſenſions.

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"On deliberate reflection, it can hardly be imagined, that the mother country has formed the leaſt intention of reducing theſe provinces to a ſtate of abject ſervility, by the force of arms; the *natural connexion*—the *cloſe ties*—and *nice dependencies*, which exiſt between the different parts of the empire, forbid indulging any concluſions of ſo melancholy a nature. She will be more juſt—more tender to her offſpring—the voice of reaſon will prevail—our grievances will be redreſſed—and ſhe will be found, *to the end of time*, a kind—a foſtering parent!—But admitting that Great Britain were determined to enforce a ſubmiſſion to all her mandates; even in that caſe, we have little cauſe to apprehend, that ſhe will *unſheath the ſword*, and eſtabliſh her decrees in *the blood of thouſands*. A more ſafe and certain method is obvious: a ſmall proportion of *her naval power* would entirely ſhut up our harbours—ſuſpend our

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trade—impoverish the inhabitants—promote intestine divisions—and involve us in all the horrors of anarchy and confusion. To avoid evils, *even great as these*, we are not meanly to bend the neck, and submit to every innovation. But when there is no prospect of such dreadful calamities, why are we to form ideas of *battles* and of *slaughter?* Why are our coasts to resound with *hostile preparations?*—the demon of *discord* to stalk at large—and *friends* and *kindred* forget the peaceful bonds of *amity* and *love?*

"It has been objected by the advocates for moderation, that the methods pursued to complete the subscription for arms, &c. has more the complexion of *an arbitrary tax*, than *a voluntary contribution*. On the other hand, it has been asserted, "that money raised in a manner, where there is no obligation to pay but a sense of duty;

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and no other mode to induce compliance, but ſhame and infamy, cannot be deemed *a tax*. A ſenſe of duty is, undoubtedly, the moſt noble incentive to *worthy actions*; but a falſe dread of *ſhame* and *infamy*, has perverted many *an honeſt heart*, and too frequently proved an irreſiſtible temptation to *diſhonourable practices*. Let us a moment reflect:—Can there be an impoſition more arbitrary and ſevere, than a neceſſity of aſſenting to any particular meaſure, or forfeiting *that fair*—that *unſullied reputation*, which alleviates the cares of life, and ſmooths the inevitable rugged path to the dreary manſions of the grave!

" Good name in man and woman
" Is the immediate jewel of their ſouls.
" Who ſteals my purſe, ſteals traſh; 'tis ſomething,
" nothing;
" 'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been ſlave to thouſands;
" But he that filches from me my good name,
" Robs me of that which not enriches him,
" And makes me poor indeed."——

If

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" If I differ in opinion from the multitude, muſt I therefore be deprived of my character, and the confidence of my fellow-citizens, when in every ſtation of life I diſcharge my duty with fidelity and honour? DEATH—the certain tax on all the ſons of men, were preferable to ſo abject a ſtate.—No—'twere better to ſuffer all that " age, ach, penury, impriſonment, can lay on nature," than reſign that glorious inheritance of a free ſubject—the liberty of *thinking*—*ſpeaking*—and *acting*, agreeable to the dictates of conſcience! I frankly acknowledge no man has a right to diſturb the peace of the community, by broaching tenets deſtructive to the *true intereſts* and *welfare* of his country; but at the ſame time, it cannot be juſtifiable to compel others to adopt *every ſyſtem* which we eſteem conducive to the public good. Let us therefore be unanimous in *virtue*—in *frugality*—and in *induſtry*; let us con-

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duct ourſelves on the chriſtian principle of "doing to others as we would have done to us;" let us not, in the frantic moments of intemperate zeal, miſtake *libertiniſm* for *liberty*, and commit outrages, which we ſhall recollect with *ſhame*, and condemn with *heart-felt anxiety*. While we contend for the ineſtimable bleſſings of Britiſh ſubjects, let us not aſſume a *tyrannical authority* over each other. In a word, let *reaſon* and *moderation* hold the ſcale in every important determination—ſo ſhall every *real grievance* be effectually redreſſed—every man ſhall ſing the ſong of gladneſs under his own *vine*, and we ſhall at once be free—be loyal—and be happy!

I am, Sir,

Moſt ſincerely,

Annapolis,
Feb. 14, 1775.

A Friend to Amity."

On

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On perusing the above humble effort of my pen, it will readily occur to you, that if I had, in the most distant manner, admitted the right of parliamentary taxation, my address, in times like these, could not possibly have been productive of any salutary consequences. The denial of that right being the prevailing creed of the colonies, I found myself necessitated to coincide with the popular opinion, that I might strike, with the greater efficacy, at that vindictive, arbitrary system, which under the fallacious pretence of supporting the interests of constitutional freedom, exerts a tyrannical authority, in order to enforce hostile opposition in preference to moderate and respectful applications.

How far the legislative authority of Great Britain legally extends over the American Provinces, is beyond the extent of my limited abilities to determine. In

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the confidence of converſation, I daily hear various opinions, ſupported by ſtrength of argument and accuracy of obſervation, and from what I have heard, and am enabled to judge, I am clearly convinced that much more is apprehended than has any exiſtence in reality. But in all countries there are buſy, turbulent ſpirits, who from motives of ambition, avarice, or diſcontent, " infect the general ear with horrid ſpeech:" by eagerly preſſing forwards, as champions in the public cauſe, they agitate the paſſions of the miſguided multitude, and imperceptibly lead them to the moſt dreadful extremities.

It is with pleaſure I am able to aſſert, that a greater degree of moderation appears to predominate in this province, than in any other on the continent; and I am perfectly aſſured we are very materially indebted for this peculiar advantage to the collected

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collected and consistent conduct of our Governor, whose views appear solely directed to advance the interests of the community; and to preserve, by every possible method, the public tranquillity. How long we may continue thus distinguished, time alone must determine. Should our demagogues obtain the ascendency, after which they labour, we shall assuredly equal any of our neighbours in those violences of which we now only contemplate the commencement.

While the power of communicating my sentiments, *with safety*, is happily continued, I shall not fail to give you due information of every material circumstance.

LETTER

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LETTER XX.

Annapolis, Wedneſday Even. April 26, 1775.

ABOUT noon this day, arrived an expreſs from Boſton, which brought an account, "that on the 19th inſtant a detachment of the king's troops, conſiſting of about a thouſand men, being ordered on ſome ſecret duty, at a place called Lexington, fell in with a company of provincials, whom they attacked without any provocation, killed ſix, and wounded four: that on an alarm being given, the regulars were, in conſequence, aſſaulted by a numerous body of the militia, who had ſurrounded them; and it was ſuppoſed the conflict would be deſperate and bloody."

An additional paragraph ſays, "that General Gage had ſent a reinforcement, with

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with ſome artillery, to ſuſtain the troops; but that meaſures were taken to prevent their junction: that when the expreſs was diſpatched, about one hundred and fifty ſoldiers were killed, and about fifty New Englandmen; and that the engagement continued with determined reſolution."

With the moſt dreadful anxiety are we now waiting for further, and more circumſtantial intelligence.

The laſt advices from London intimate, that both Houſes of Parliament have addreſſed his Majeſty, requeſting him to enforce the acts; and that it has been determined, in conſequence, to increaſe the army already in America.

I take it for granted, this intelligence has brought on the commencement of hoſtilities; the violent party having conceived the practicability of reducing General Gage,

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Gage, before he is rendered more formidable by the freſh ſupplies. Should the event be anſwerable to their expectation, the meaſure will be applauded by very many of the raſh and inconſiderate. If they fail, the diſappointment may, probably, give encouragement to the cool and moderate throughout the different provinces, to exert their influence and their abilities, in order to prevent the continent, in general, from participating in the miſeries of war!

The Provincial Convention are now ſitting in Annapolis, but ſtrangers are not permitted to attend their debates. They have already diſpatched an expreſs to the ſouthward, in conſequence of the information from Boſton.

The plan propoſed for a reconciliation, by Lord North, is generally approved by the moderate and diſpaſſionate, as the foundation of a permanent tranquility.

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quility *. Theſe men have ever been of opinion, that the plantations ought to contribute more liberally than they at preſent do, in return for the advantages of commerce, and for the protection afforded by Great Britain. But how far his lordſhip's conciliatory ſcheme may operate,

* On the motives and conduct of the American war there are various opinions, but only *one* exiſts with reſpect to the zeal evinced by the above nobleman, in behalf of thoſe who had freely ſacrificed their all to their loyalty, and to the Britiſh conſtitution.

The writer of theſe letters would be greatly wanting in gratitude, were he not happy in this opportunity, of acknowledging his particular obligations to the Earl of Guilford. At the time of his arrival in England, his Lordſhip was at the head of the Treaſury, to whom he ſtated thoſe circumſtances which had compelled him to abandon his very eligible ſituations in the province of Maryland. The facts being properly authenticated, his Lordſhip was pleaſed, without the *moſt diſtant* interference of private intereſt, and with a diſpatch beyond the author's moſt ſanguine expectations, to allot him a temporary proviſion, which enabled him to ſupport, with comfort, that reverſe of fortune, which had rendered him dependent on the juſtice and humanity of his country.

now

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now when actual hoſtilities are commenced, heaven alone can determine.

Thurſday, April 27.

Laſt night advice was received from Virginia, that the powder and ſtores in the magazine at Williamſburg, were taken from thence by ſome marines belonging to one of his Majeſty's veſſels on that ſtation, by order of his Excellency Lord Dunmore.

This intelligence has given an additional alarm to our patriotic party; and accordingly ſome gentlemen were deputed by the convention to wait on the governor; ſoliciting him to give directions, that the arms, powder, and ſtores, belonging to the province, ſhould be delivered into their poſſeſſion; apprehenſions being entertained, "That ſome ſhip of war may arrive in the harbour of Annapolis, whoſe com-

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commander might probably have inſtructions to ſeize the ſame."

The deputation was received with reſpect, and the governor promiſed to conſult his council with all poſſible diſpatch. This anſwer has given ſatisfaction for the preſent; and the militia, who were aſſembled to enforce ſubmiſſion, are departed quietly to their habitations.

April 28.

To prevent riot and confuſion, the governor and council have thought it adviſeable to comply with the requiſition of the convention, on condition that the colonels of the militia, in the reſpective counties under the ancient eſtabliſhment, ſolicit for the delivery of the arms, powder and ſtores, pointing out the neceſſity of the meaſure. By this mode of proceeding, the dignity of government is maintained,

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tained, and the public tranquillity preſerved. In theſe turbulent times, ſomething muſt be yielded to the clamour of an infatuated multitude.

The inhabitants of New York have hitherto diſcovered ſentiments favourable to government: but if the ſword is unſheathed, it is apprehended they will almoſt unanimouſly fall into the ranks of oppoſition. A report is circulated, that fourteen regiments are ordered to that city, who are to prevent all communication between the ſouthern and eaſtern provinces. In conſequence of this rumour, their committee of obſervation have tranſmitted diſpatches to Pennſylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and other places, deſiring immediate aſſiſtance ſhould ſuch an event take place. How *our* patriots will act in this buſineſs I know not: for my part I ſuſpect there are people who induſtriouſly circulate reports, and magnify the moſt trivial

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trivial circumſtances, with a view to inflame the minds of the multitude. Men of this complexion, are beſt gratified when by fomenting diviſions, and exciting apprehenſions, they are enabled to take the lead in the ſubverſion of all order, and by obtaining an iniquitous pre-eminence,

Ride in the tempeſt, and direct the ſtorm."

Wedneſday, May 3.

We are inceſſantly alarmed with varied accounts from the northward, full of inconſiſtency and contradiction; but upon the whole there is the greateſt reaſon to conclude, that the action between the regulars and provincials, has not been attended with conſequences ſo fatal as has been induſtriouſly repreſented. We are, however, ſtill in the dark with reſpect to authentic particulars.

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The governor laſt night received a circular letter from Lord Dartmouth, with a reſolution of the Houſe of Commons, relative to a conciliatory plan. I pray God it may be attended with efficacy, though I fear the unhappy event at Lexington will retard the accompliſhment of peace.

I am heartily diſguſted with the times. The univerſal cry is *Liberty!* to ſupport which, an infinite number of petty tyrannies are eſtabliſhed, under the appellation of committees; in every one of which a few deſpots lord it over the calm and moderate; inflame the paſſions of the mob, and pronounce thoſe to be enemies to the general good, who may preſume any way to diſſent from the creed they have thought proper to impoſe.

Our provincial convention roſe this day; and, conſidering the complexion of the times, their proceedings have been regular

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and moderate. The eleventh inſtant is to be obſerved as a faſt throughout this province: the muſtering is to be continued; and a ſum is to be raiſed in each county, for the ſupport of the delegates in Philadelphia.

From the public prints it is difficult to form a clear idea of the prevailing opinion at home, reſpecting the preſent unhappy and unnatural contention. If determined meaſures are purſued, under officers of approved truſt and ability, it can hardly be imagined that the colonies will be equal to a long and ſerious oppoſition; but whether a reduction of them by force would be attended with the deſired conſequences, is a queſtion that ought to be conſidered in preference to every other object. It will ſurely be adviſeable on the part of the Britiſh commanders, to act only on defenſive principles, until every lenient method has

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been adopted to reſtore harmony and mutual confidence on a conſtitutional foundation. It is evident there are too many individuals, in every province, who, from intereſted or ambitious motives, embrace all opportunities to foment the ſeeds of diviſion, by inflammatory addreſſes to the paſſions of the multitude, by repeated miſrepreſentations, and by artfully delineating the miſeries of that arbitrary ſyſtem which they aſſert, will be the inevitable conſequence of ſubmiſſion to miniſterial mandates. Yet there are, alſo, throughout this continent, many reſpectable characters, whoſe real importance and eſtabliſhed reputation, give them ſuch due weight and influence, that I cannot but indulge the pleaſing idea they will, by the ſteadineſs and conſiſtency of their conduct, be able to ſtem the torrent excited by factious artifices, and to forward meaſures that may be eſſential to the intereſts and

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and happineſs of the united Britiſh Empire.

Supported by this hope, thoſe who are ſincerely attached to the proſperity and welfare of the general community, direct their beſt attention to the parent ſtate. Under the evils that now oppreſs them, they derive ſome conſolation from a firm perſuaſion, that the olive-branch will ſpeedily be extended, and that ſuch wiſe and judicious diſpoſitions will be made for future legiſlation in the colonies; that many ineſtimable advantages will ariſe from paſt and preſent calamities.

May 13.

At length we have received General Gage's account of the late action, which is materially different from thoſe tranſmitted by the reſpective committees; and, I

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think, may be more certainly relied on, being written ten days after the engagement, when the particulars relative to the whole tranſaction were properly and minutely collected. The charge of cruelty and precipitation is now retorted on the provincials. But the patriots yield no credit to this relation; though they affect to believe implicitly every report propagated to the diſadvantage of the Britiſh forces.

The Members of the Congreſs are now aſſembled in Philadelphia. I need not ſay with what anxiety we attend the event of their deliberations. The governor continues to ſtand fair with the people of this province; our public prints declare him to be the only perſon, in his ſtation, who, in theſe tumultuous times, has given adminiſtration a fair and impartial repreſentation of important occurrences; and I can aſſert

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aſſert with the ſtricteſt regard to truth, that he conducts himſelf, in his arduous department, with an invariable attention to the intereſts of his royal maſter, and the eſſential welfare of the province over which he has the honour to preſide.

LETTER XXI.

Annapolis, July 25, 1775.

MR. D—— will do me the favour to deliver this letter. He is going to paſs ſome time on the continent of Europe, where he hopes to find that tranquillity which is not, at preſent, to be obtained in this unhappy country. I ſhall leave him to repreſent, minutely, the calamitous ſituation of the colonies. Government is now almoſt totally annihilated, and power

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transferred to the multitude. Speech is become dangerous; letters are intercepted; confidence betrayed; and every meaſure evidently tends to the moſt fatal extremities: the ſword is drawn, and, without ſome providential change of meaſures, the blood of thouſands will be ſhed in this unnatural conteſt.

Before this letter is received, you will have heard of the action at *Bunker's Hill*. The provincials were forced from their intrenchments; but it is ſaid the regulars ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that they cannot afford to obtain future advantages at ſo dear a price.

The inhabitants of this province are incorporated under military regulations; and apply the greater part of their time to the different branches of diſcipline. In Annapolis there are two complete companies; in Baltimore ſeven; and in every diſtrict of this province the majority of the people

are

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are actually under arms: almoſt every hat is decorated with a cockade; and the churliſh drum and fife are the only muſic of the times.

I have not yet, in poſitive terms, been required to muſter; and, I truſt, my peculiar circumſtances will be conſidered as a reaſonable plea of exemption. I wiſh well to America.—It is my duty—my inclination ſo to do—but I cannot—I will not—conſent to act in direct oppoſition to my oath of allegiance, and my deliberate opinion. Rather than ſubmit to a conduct ſo baſe, ſo inconſiſtent with my principles, I will give up all—embrace ruin!—and truſt to the protecting care of Providence for the future diſpoſition of me and mine.

On Tueſday the 18th inſtant, a number of armed perſons ſet fire to a ſhip which had accidentally run on ground a few miles below this city. She was the property of Mr.

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Mr. Gildart of Liverpool, and had brought in ſome goods contrary to the aſſociation. This is the ſecond burnt-offering to liberty within this province: at the ſame time, it is but juſtice to confeſs, that theſe inſtances of popular fury are heartily condemned by very many, even of the patriotic party.

Mr, James C——, a reſpectable merchant of Baltimore, lately addreſſed a letter to a near relation, Lieutenant-Colonel C—— of the 60th regiment, ſtationed in the iſland of Antigua, in which he ſtrongly expreſſed his diſapprobation of the prevailing ſyſtem. This letter has been intercepted and laid before the committee of Baltimore county; and on its being made public, his houſe was ſurrounded by a diſorderly rabble, and had not a detachment of the militia interfered, Mr. C—— would probably have fallen a ſacrifice. This gentleman is now a cloſe priſoner, under the

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the cuſtody of a guard, and his caſe is to be laid before the provincial convention, who meet to-morrow, in this city, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing new regulations.

The proclamation iſſued by General Gage is very little regarded. Hancock and Adams are therein excepted from mercy!—The Congreſs have adjourned until September.

My friend M—— arrived on the 18th, and delivered your circumſtantial epiſtle. How we are to correſpond hereafter I know not. On the tenth of September next the non-exportation aſſociation takes place; and all commercial intercourſe will conſequently ceaſe, until theſe unhappy differences are by ſome means decided. It ſeems but yeſterday that I conſidered my ſituation as permanent.—Every flattering proſpect appeared before me.—Happy in my family, in my connexions, in my circumſtances,

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cumſtances, cheriſhed and ſupported by a patron, able and anxious to promote my intereſt. Alas! my brethren, how cruelly is the ſcene reverſed! I am ſuddenly involved in a train of difficulties and dangers, againſt which no human prudence or foreſight could poſſibly guard. How ſtrangely complicated have been the events of my life, on which, apparently, my own conduct has had ſo little influence. Under all circumſtances believe me ever yours.

LETTER XXII.

Annapolis, Aug. 24, 1775.

ON the fourteenth inſtant, the Convention concluded their deliberations. If their proceedings are publiſhed before I have an opportunity to tranſmit this,

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this, I will encloſe them for your information. You will then be enabled to form an opinion of the diſpoſition of this province.

When you have peruſed the aſſociation of the freemen of Maryland, you will, I preſume, acknowledge the propriety of my objecting to ſubſcribe to it, and acknowledge that ſuch conduct would be inconſiſtent with my principles, and the ſtation under government, in which I am ſituated. I verily believed ſome regard would have been paid to the particular circumſtances of revenue officers, but our preſent rulers entertain different ſentiments, and all perſons, without exception, muſt aſſociate and enrol; the Governor, and his houſehold, *only* excepted.

His Excellency, ever attentive to my intereſt, has generouſly made me an offer to become one of his family, immediately after the embarkation of Mrs. E———, who is now

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now anxiouſly preparing for her approaching voyage. We had firmly determined, that no circumſtances, however adverſe to our hopes, ſhould induce us again to conſent, even to a temporary ſeparation; but the cruel neceſſity of our once more ſubmitting to it, has of late appeared too evident. She is perfectly convinced, that I muſt ſpeedily avow my political ſentiments, in the moſt explicit manner; and that my refuſal to join in the popular meaſures, will ſubject me to inconveniences which may better be ſupported, when my family is removed to ſome ſecure aſylum. Influenced by ſuch forcible conſiderations, ſhe has acknowledged the expediency of what is ſo diſtreſſing to our domeſtic happineſs! and early in the enſuing month, we muſt bid farewell!—a painful farewell to each other!

The Governor's humane and generous offer impreſſes my mind with the moſt lively

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lively gratitude: yet am I greatly embarraſſed how to conduct myſelf on the occaſion. Conſidering the wild, unſettled times, he is uncommonly popular; but how long he may continue ſo is a matter of great uncertainty. It is highly probable he may ſpeedily think it neceſſary to expreſs his decided approbation of the preſent proceedings, which ſtep, I am fearful, would effectually cancel his paſt merits; ſubject him to calumny and cenſure; and render his longer continuance in Maryland impoſſible. Should the event prove theſe conjectures to be well-founded, I cannot poſſibly expect protection from the friendly attention of my worthy patron; on the contrary, I muſt either bid adieu to America, and every pleaſing proſpect, or meanly comply with the requiſitions of the Convention, in direct oppoſition to the ſentiments of my heart. Let me weigh both evils, with a ſettled determination to make that election which will

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will hereafter be attended with the moſt ſalutary effects, and the moſt pleaſing reflections.

If I abandon this country, in conſequence of a ſteady adherence to my principles and my duty, I muſt unavoidably be ſubjected to a precarious life of uncertainty and dependence; and inſtead of enjoying a comfortable aſylum in my native land, I may only experience a variety of misfortunes and diſappointments, and drink yet deeper draughts of the cup of affliction. I am, however, perfectly aſſured, if I preſerve my integrity unblemiſhed, though I ſhould thereby be ſubjected to

" ——————— the ſpurns
" That patient merit of the unworthy takes,"

yet, hereafter, I ſhall receive an adequate reward.

On the other hand, ſhould I act in oppoſition to the dictates of my mind, by ſubſcribing to the aſſociation, and taking arms, I ſhall

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I ſhall not only be ſubject to thoſe painful feelings which accompany a conſciouſneſs of doing wrong, but be juſtly deſpiſed by every brave and honeſt man; deteſted and avoided by every reſpectable ſociety; and, when tranquillity is happily reſtored, deſervedly caſt out, to encounter a complication of miſeries, without one chearing thought to ſupport ſuch a reverſe of fortune.

I have now fairly ſtated my ſituation; and believe, from your knowledge of my principles, you will readily determine how I ſhall regulate my conduct; and whenever I am unhappily neceſſitated to quit this country, where I have experienced great bleſſings, this pleaſing reflection will accompany me, that I have left behind me a fair and unblemiſhed reputation.

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A new emiſſion of paper currency, to the amount of ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling, is now preparing under the inſpection of gentlemen, appointed by authority of the Convention, which is hereafter to be ſunk by a tax on the inhabitants of this province; beſides which, they are to be aſſeſſed their proportion to ſink the Congreſs money, amounting to ſix hundred and ſeventy five thouſand pounds, lately emitted at Philadelphia, for the payment of the provincial army. How theſe enormous expences are to be ſupported, and how the people are to be maintained, after a total ſtagnation of commerce, is not eaſy to conceive. If ways and means are not ſpeedily deviſed to feed the hungry, and cloath the naked, we muſt aſſuredly experience all the horrors of the moſt extreme indigence.

Numbers of my valued friends are now preparing to bid farewell to a country,

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where they cannot poſſibly remain with any degree of ſafety, unleſs they take an active part in oppoſition to the meaſures of government: to be neuter is to be adverſe. What a variety of circumſtances combine to make me wretched! It is but too probable that *I* alſo ſhall ſoon abandon this continent, either by ſentence of baniſhment, or by voluntary retreat. I cannot be excelled by any in good wiſhes to America, and I heartily pray that every real evil under which ſhe labours, may be ſpeedily and effectually redreſſed: but the preſent meaſures will never meet my concurrence: I cannot ſubſcribe to a compact, which I believe to be incompatible with my oath of allegiance; nor can I think it conſiſtent with that liberty, which is the univerſal cry, to compel any man to act in direct oppoſition to his well-grounded principles.

I have written you a gloomy letter, which a word or two more ſhall conclude. In a

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former epiſtle, I mentioned Mr. James C———, and the danger to which he was ſubjected in conſequence of having imparted his opinions too explicitly in confidential correſpondence. That gentleman has been examined by the Convention, and there are vindictive ſpirits who think the ſentence he has received, by no means adequate to the *ſuppoſed* enormity of his offence. He has been pronounced "an enemy to America; condemned to perpetual baniſhment; and obliged to depoſit the ſum of five hundred pounds ſterling, in the hands of perſons appointed by the Convention, to be expended occaſionally towards his proportion of all charges incurred, or to be incurred, for the defence of America, during the preſent conteſt with Great Britain; the overplus, if any, after a reconciliation ſhall happily be effected, to be reſtored to the ſaid James C———."

From

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From this you will learn how hazardous it is become to ſupport a free intercourſe. The Convention have thus aſſumed the powers of all the different branches of government; but with what propriety, it becomes not me to determine. That the bleſſings of peace may ſpeedily be reſtored, is the fervent prayer of your faithful, &c.

LETTER XXIII.

Annapolis, Sep. 26th, 1775.

I AM ſeated, my deareſt wife, to tranſmit a detail of material occurrences, ſince our unhappy ſeparation on the ſixteenth inſtant.

It is impoſſible to delineate the anguiſh I experienced when I quitted the veſſel

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which was to convey you, and our darling boy to a land of ſafety. Anxious to retain you as long as poſſible in my poſſeſſion, I had proceeded with you further down the Bay than prudence warranted, and the night was far advanced before I regained the manſion of the hoſpitable Colonel. I then retired to the apartment you had ſo recently quitted, and gave a looſe to all the complicated emotions which "harrowed up my ſoul."

On the nineteenth, the wind being favourable, I took leave of the worthy family at Rouſley-hall, and embarked for Annapolis. In my way down the river I viſited a veſſel which had anchored near the mouth on the preceding evening, and found on board ſeveral of our valued acquaintance, who had abandoned their deareſt connexions, rather than aſſent to meaſures they could not conſcientiouſly ſupport.

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Immediately on landing, I repaired to my new abode at the Governor's, who received me with that friendly attention which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhes his conduct on every occaſion. I found him in company with a few ſelect loyal friends: political occurrences engroſſed our converſation, in which hope appeared to operate but weakly, with reſpect to the eventful tranſactions of the times. At an early hour we ſeparated: my apartment was ready for my reception; and after invoking Heaven on behalf of my wife and ſon, I reſted with tolerable compoſure.

Mr. L———, who had actually embarked for England, with full permiſſion from the ruling powers, has been obliged to relinquiſh his intention, and return on ſhore, ſome clamours having been excited by the populace to his prejudice; and it being thought neceſſary he ſhould remain

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to vindicate his conduct. Many of our friends have found it expedient to take a French leave. I truſt you will ſpeedily meet them in perfect ſafety.

On the twentieth, I viſited our once happy manſion. This was an additional trial of reſignation and fortitude; every ſurrounding object too forcibly reminding me of paſt felicity. Your ſervants ſhewed the ſtrongeſt ſenſibility; and their earneſt and pathetic inquiries relative to their dear miſtreſs and our beloved boy, proved the fervency and ſincerity of their attachment. In a few days they remove to their reſpective ſituations. What a dreadful reverſe have I already experienced!

Septem. 26th, P. M.

About an hour ſince, the governor was exceedingly ſurpriſed by the receipt of a letter from Mr. L—. D——, dated from Philadelphia. The contents intimate, that

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on the tenth and eleventh inſtant they encountered a moſt violent ſtorm, about ſixty leagues to the eaſtward of Virginia, during which the Annapolis loſt all her maſts; and that they continued three days in that dangerous ſituation, before they were able to fix jury maſts, under which they made ſail for the coaſt of America. On Tueſday, the nineteenth, they had the good fortune to fall in with a veſſel bound to Philadelphia, which received the paſſengers, and conveyed them to that city. Captain H——— intends to go into the firſt port he can make, in order to repair his damages, which are conſiderable. I need not obſerve, that we wait for intelligence of his arrival with great anxiety.

We once conſidered the circumſtances which prevented your ſailing in that ſhip, as a very ſevere diſappointment; but in conſequence of that ſeeming evil, what incon-

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inconveniences, what terrors, have you not happily avoided! what increaſed expence! which in our preſent ſituation we are little able to ſupport.

Wedneſday evening, Sep. 27.

This morning early we were alarmed by the beating of drums, and a proclamation for the inhabitants to aſſemble at the Liberty Tree. The purport of this meeting was to obtain a reſolve, "That all perſons who had refuſed to ſign the aſſociation, and comply with the other requiſitions, ſhould be obliged to quit the city, as enemies to the eſſential intereſts of America." I have, however, the pleaſure to inform you, that this violent project was defeated with little difficulty: every judicious and reaſonable perſon ſeeing through the pernicious tendency of ſuch a deſign; and the promoters, who were amongſt the loweſt of the people, not being ſupported

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or encouraged. It is needleſs to mention, that this proceeding was directly oppoſite to the reſolves of the Convention; it having been determined by that body, that *they only* were competent to take cognizance of offences, and to aſcertain the puniſhment.

I am, however, clearly of opinion, that all power will quickly be transferred into the hands of the multitude, who once taking the lead, will not eaſily be reduced again to proper ſubmiſſion. In ſome counties they have had warm conteſts in electing their delegates for the enſuing convention, and in appointing members of the reſpective committees. In Talbot, the poll laſted ſeveral days; party prejudices were highly predominant, and much ill blood produced.

Mr. R———, the Attorney General of Virginia, with his lady and daughters, are on their paſſage to England. His ſon is of the adverſe party, and is appointed an aid-

du-camp

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du-camp to General Washington; with whom, beneath the hospitable roof of our worthy governor, I have so frequently shared the hour of social and sentimental discourse. Little did I then conceive, that he was destined to be called forth, by the united voice of America, from the private occupations of domestic tranquillity, to direct hostile operations against the measures of the British government. Reserved in conversation, but liberal in opinion, his actions have, hitherto, been directed by calmness and moderation; a perseverance in which conduct may restrain misguided ardor, and direct every movement to that grand point; a permanent and constitutional reconciliation.

The exaltation of this gentleman to the supreme command, is considered as a severe stroke to the ambition of General Lee; who, relying on a supposed opinion of

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of his ſuperior abilities and experience, expected to have been unanimouſly choſen to this elevated ſtation. I am perſuaded, that General Waſhington would rejoice in an opportunity of returning into the private walks of life: but it is too evident that General Lee is governed by a vindictive ſpirit, the reſult of diſappointment in military advancement, while in the ſervice of Great Britain. Perhaps this additional mortification may moderate his zeal in the cauſe he has recently eſpouſed.

The Council of Safety have given directions to ſeveral gentlemen in public departments, to hold themſelves in readineſs to remove their books and papers. Intimations of this nature have not yet extended to myſelf or colleague, but when the Convention meet, it is expected we ſhall be included in whatever regulations they may think neceſſary to eſtabliſh.

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The report of a ſhip of war being ordered to this port, has occaſioned many families to quit Annapolis; and others talk of removing ſpeedily. I have, however, the pleaſure of informing you, that the generality of the inhabitants ſeem perfectly diſpoſed to conduct themſelves with moderation, ſhould ſuch ſhip arrive; for at a reſpectable meeting of the citizens, on Monday laſt, it was unanimouſly agreed, "If a veſſel, belonging to his Majeſty, "ſhould be ſtationed in our harbour, to "ſupply the ſame with every neceſſary, "at a reaſonable price, and cautiouſly to "avoid any cauſe of contention with the "officers or the crew." An addreſs is alſo prepared to be delivered to the Governor, expreſſive of theſe laudable ſentiments, and entreating that he will intimate the ſame to the commander of any ſhip that may be ordered on this duty.

I ſhall

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I ſhall be truly impatient till I learn that you are ſafely arrived. May the wiſhed-for intelligence be ſoon conveyed to your ever faithful, &c.

LETTER XXIV.

Annapolis, Nov. 16, 1775.

WHEN we parted, I intimated an intention of making an excurſion to the northward; but, on reflection, think it prudent, during theſe diſcordant times, to relinquiſh the deſign. The city of New York is deſerted by almoſt every reſpectable family; and Philadelphia only preſents a view of military arrangements and general confuſion. While the country is in ſuch commotion, commerce and agriculture at a ſtand, and marks of diſtreſs, real or imaginary,

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ginary, imprinted on every countenance, it is abſolutely impoſſible to receive any ſatisfaction from change of ſituation.

The king's proclamation, and the Mancheſter addreſs, have appeared in the continental papers; but as I carefully avoid "the buſy haunts of men," I am not ſufficiently informed to determine on their general reception. From what I caſually learn they do not tend to conciliate.

Friday, Nov. 17.

I have juſt received intelligence which gives me great diſquietude. The September packet is arrived from England, but the letters are detained for inſpection. The governor is much chagrined on the occaſion.

Mrs. Waſhington, accompanied by her ſon Mr. Curtis, and his lady, paſſed through Baltimore this day on their way to the camp

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camp at Cambridge, escorted by a detachment of horse, that made a very military appearance.

Tuesday, Nov. 21.

The governor this morning received his letters, but they have passed the ordeal of examination. Those you may write to me will assuredly share the same fate. It is a painful reflection, that private correspondence cannot escape being subjected to public investigation; but we must yield with resignation to the complexion of the times.

Annapolis is daily more and more deserted; some families have quitted us from apprehensions of a bombardment; others on account of the distressed times, bad markets, and a general scarcity of money; even tradesmen and mechanics have quitted their habitations, and are retired from

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the vicinity of navigable waters; Agriculture is neglected; the voice of peaceful induſtry is heard no more; and the military ſcience is the univerſal ſtudy, ſo that I have, every hour, additional reaſon to felicitate myſelf on your abſence from this wretched country.

Monday, Nov. 27.

A hand-bill is juſt arrived from the northward, which conveys information, that the metropolis of Canada has ſurrendered to Colonel Arnold, by the reduction of which an immenſe quantity of military ſtores has fallen into the poſſeſſion of the captors. The account ſays fifteen thouſand ſtand of arms, and two thouſand five hundred barrels of gunpowder, with cannon, mortars, &c. Fifteen thouſand ſuits of ſoldiers clothing are alſo ſaid to be included in this valuable capture. General

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neral Carleton is at Montreal, but with what force is not aſcertained; it is however imagined that place muſt inevitably fall, and the gallant commander ſubmit to the provincial armament. War between different nations is an evil of great magnitude; but between people who acknowledge the ſame ſovereign, who ſpeak the ſame language, profeſs the ſame religion, and who are connected with each other by all the affecting ties of nature and of intereſt, it is indeed too horrible for imagination to conceive.

In conſequence of the late ſucceſs, our patriots talk in a ſtrain of high exultation; and prognoſticate events fatal to the political and commercial intereſts of the parent ſtate.

As it is impoſſible during theſe unſettled times, to conjecture what fortune may befall me, I would have you be conſtantly pre-

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pared for my arrival in London, as it may not be in my power to tranſmit you any information previous to my leaving this country. For if peace is not re-eſtabliſhed during the courſe of the preſent winter, I can neither enjoy happineſs, nor derive any advantage by remaining in America.

Theſe wretched times indeed ſtrike at the root of every home-felt enjoyment; every countenance is darkened with anxiety and ſuſpicion; mutual confidence is annihilated; political prejudices eraſe the remembrance of former attachments, and friends and kindred forget the endearing bonds of amity and love.

December 3.

The account of Quebec being taken appears to be premature, but ſanguine expectations are entertained that it muſt ſpeedily ſubmit. Montreal has ſurrendered to General

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General Montgomery. The terms of capitulation will, probably, reach England long before this letter. Theſe ſucceſſes induce ſome people to look further than the original plan of oppoſition.

I charge you let not any ſolicitude on my account agitate your mind—let us not "ſhape the faſhion of uncertain evils,"—but reflecting on the *paſt*, look forward confidently to the *future*.

LETTER XXV.

Annapolis, Jan. 1, 1776.

WERE I to yield to thoſe corroding reflections, that naturally and irreſiſtably impreſs the mind, under the peculiarly diſtreſſing circumſtances of

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this diſtracted empire, I ſhould aſſuredly form the moſt calamitous ideas, reſpecting the events which may, too probably, take place before the commencement of a future year. Numbers of thoſe, with whom I have been connected on terms of amity and friendſhip, are now the avowed and determined enemies of my much loved native country!—the reflection that they derived their being from the ſame original ſource, appears almoſt entirely obliterated, and they are ruſhing impetuouſly forward into all the complicated dangers and miſeries of hoſtile oppoſition. Multitudes who, at this moment, are diſtinguiſhed by the endearing appellations of huſbands! fathers! ſons! and brethren! will, aſſuredly, before the return of this day, exiſt only in the memory of thoſe to whom they are now united by all the tender bonds of nature and attachment. From contemplating

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plating the general wreck, the mind irreſiſtibly adverts to private ſufferings.

" How richly were our noon-tide traces hung
" With gorgeous tapeſtries of pictur'd joys;
" Joy behind joy, in endleſs perſpective."

What an unexpected, unavoidable reverſe have we experienced!—Our domeſtic felicity is ſacrificed; our reaſonable and well-founded hopes of uninterrupted proſperity are cruelly fruſtrated, and every future view is dreary and calamitous. But it is poſſible all may yet be well. Tranquillity may be effectually reſtored; we may be happily re-united, and enabled to enjoy the reſidue of our days under a conſtant ſenſe of that gracious providence, which, through paths of danger, conducts to peace and ſafety, and erects permanent happineſs on the foundation of ſorrow and diſappoinment.

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For ſome time I have indulged the idea that the November packet would convey the pleaſing intelligence of your ſafe arrival in London; and that you were enjoying as much ſatisfaction as the reſtoration of health, and the attention of kind friends could poſſibly afford. But, alas! I am miſerably diſappointed; by the painful information that, from October laſt, no more packets were to be diſpatched regularly from England. It is, therefore, now become a doubt, whether I ſhall obtain information of your welfare, until it pleaſes heaven to reſtore you, and our deareſt child, to my impatient arms.

Since your departure, what a ſtrange alteration has taken place. Our harbours—our rivers are deſerted. The chearful ſound of induſtry is heard no more; activity is only exerted in warlike preparations: every viſage is clouded with apprehenſion; and a con-

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a continued ſucceſſion of aggravated reports agitate the mind, and foment the general diſcontent. Were my duty, and my inclination reconcileable with each other, you would ſpeedily behold me in England; but every motive of principle and affection equally operates to deny the gratification of my fondeſt wiſhes. For while a poſſibility remains that a reconciliation may be conſtitutionally effected between Great Britain and her colonies, it is, undoubtedly, incumbent on the ſervants of government not to relinquiſh their reſpective ſituations. Such conduct would be juſtly reprehenſible, as it might occaſion infinite irregularity and confuſion; which by a decent and ſteady perſeverance may be avoided. I am perſuaded theſe reaſons will have their due influence on your mind, and, in a great degree, prepare you to encounter thoſe evils, which I would even yet hope are but temporary.

My

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My deareſt—my beſt—friend, farewell! Remember we muſt endure to conquer.

LETTER XXVI.

Annapolis, Jan. 16, 1776.

AFFAIRS in Virginia have borne, for ſome time, a very ſerious aſpect. On the 25th of October laſt, Lord Dunmore cannonaded Hampton, a commercial town on the banks of the Cheſapeak, but was repulſed with the loſs of ſome men and a tender, which was taken by the militia. In conſequence of this tranſaction, on the 7th of November, a proclamation was iſſued by his lordſhip, dated on board the ſhip William, lying off Norfolk, declaring, "that as the civil law was "inſufficient, at that period, to prevent and

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" puniſh treaſon, martial law ſhould take " place, and be executed throughout the " colony; therefore requiring all perſons " capable of bearing arms, to repair to his " majeſty's ſtandard, or to be conſidered " as traytors. He alſo declared all in- " dented ſervants, negroes, or others ap- " pertaining to perſons in oppoſition to " government, who were able and willing " to bear arms, and who joined his ma- " jeſty's forces, to be free."

This meaſure of emancipating the negroes has excited an univerſal ferment, and will, I apprehend, greatly ſtrengthen the general confederacy.

The proclamation, however, had ſome immediate effect in the opulent town of Norfolk, where many of the inhabitants were well affected to government. The governor was ſpeedily joined by ſome hundreds of all complexions, and he doubtleſs

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leſs formed an idea, that the diſpoſition to loyalty, which he diſcovered in that neighbourhood, would have been ſufficiently general for enabling him to raiſe a force competent to re-eſtabliſh, what he deemed a proper degree of ſubordination.

This deluſive expectation was interrupted by information, that a party of provincials, under the command of Colonel Woodford, were on their march to oppoſe his meaſures. To obſtruct their progreſs, and to ſupport thoſe who were well-affected, Lord Dunmore immediately took poſſeſſion of a poſt called the Great Bridge, ſome miles diſtant from Norfolk, which is a paſs of great conſequence, and the only practicable way of approaching that town. Both parties fortified themſelves within cannon ſhot of each other; and as a narrow cauſeway lay between them, which muſt neceſſarily be paſſed previous to an attack, they appeared

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peared to be mutually ſecured from any danger of ſurpriſe.

Thus circumſtanced, they continued inactive ſeveral days, till, at length, a deſign was formed of ſurpriſing the American troops in their intrenchments. Captain Fordyce, a very gallant officer, at the head of about ſixty grenadiers, led the attack: they paſſed the cauſeway with the utmoſt intrepidity, and with fixed bayonets ruſhed on an enemy, who were properly prepared for their reception; for Captain Fordyce's party were not only expoſed, naked, to a heavy fire in front, but were enfiladed from another part of the works. The brave leader, with ſeveral of his men, fell; the lieutenant, with the reſidue, all of whom were ſeverely wounded, were taken priſoners.

The fire of the artillery from the Britiſh fort, enabled the forces under the command

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mand of the governor, to retreat from the poſt which they had occupied, and which was now no longer tenable, without purſuit; and as all hopes in this quarter were terminated by the defeat, Lord Dunmore thought it expedient to abandon the town and neighbourhood of Norfolk, and retire on board the ſhipping, with numbers of perſons, who having been active in ſupporting his meaſures, found it neceſſary to ſeek the ſame aſylum. A conſiderable number of veſſels was, by this means, collected, crowded with people and effects; but poſſeſſing little force and in great want of able mariners. The provincials immediately took poſſeſſion of Norfolk, and the governor, with his adherents, removed to a greater diſtance.

The loyaliſts who had taken refuge in the fleet, together with the ſeamen and military, quickly became ſenſible of many difficulties

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difficulties and hardſhips; proviſions, neceſſaries, and every kind of ſuccour, being abſolutely denied from the adjacent ſhore. The ſhips, likewiſe, being conſtantly annoyed by the fire of the Americans, from that part of the town which lay neareſt the water, it was determined to diſlodge them, by deſtroying it. A flag, however, was firſt ſent on ſhore, to learn "whether "the provincials would regularly ſupply "his Majeſty's ſhips with water and pro-"viſions," which requiſition being anſwered in the negative, extremities were reſolved on. Previous notice being accordingly given, that the inhabitants might remove to ſituations of ſecurity, the firſt day of the preſent year was ſignalized by the attack; when a violent cannonading commenced from the Liverpool frigate, two ſloops of war, and the Governor's armed ſhip, the Dunmore; ſupported by parties of the ſailors and marines, who landed,

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landed, and ſet fire to the neareſt houſes. Theſe meaſures ſoon produced the intended effect; but not without the deſtruction of the whole town, which by the rapid progreſs of the flames, was quickly reduced to aſhes.

I have ſeen the copy of a gazette, which was printed on board the Governor's ſhip, he having removed the preſs and materials thither from Norfolk, in which it is confidently, and with great probability aſſerted, "that it was only intended to deſtroy that "part of the town which adjoined the "river, but that the provincials com-"pleted the devaſtation, by ſetting fire "to the remote ſtreets; which, as the "wind then ſtood, would otherwiſe have "been ſecure from danger."

Such has been the fate of the moſt conſiderable commercial town in the colony of Virginia; and the whole loſs upon the occaſion, is eſtimated at above three hundred

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dred thouſand pounds. This unhappy event has given a freſh alarm to our citizens, many of whom are preparing to quit Annapolis.

The Provincial Aſſembly have been ſitting here, ever ſince the fourth of December. It is expected they will ſpeedily adjourn.

Our Governor is in perfect health. He ſtill continues to receive every external mark of attention and reſpect; while the ſteady propriety of his conduct, in many trying exigencies, reflects the utmoſt credit on his moderation and underſtanding.

My ignorance of your ſituation, is a very conſiderable addition to the diſquietude I experience, on account of public calamities. May my next acknowledge the receipt of an epiſtle from her who occupies every thought; and whoſe happineſs is the

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primary object I have in view! Under all the diſpenſations of Providence I ſhall remain unalterably yours.

LETTER XXVII.

Annapolis, March 14th, 1776.

THE inhabitants of this city have been exceedingly alarmed. On the fifth inſtant, about eight in the evening, intelligence was received, that a ſhip of war was on her paſſage up the bay; and at no great diſtance from Annapolis. The conſternation occaſioned by this information, exceeds deſcription. The night was tempeſtuous; extremely dark; and the rain deſcended in torrents: notwithſtanding which, many perſons began to remove their effects; and the ſtreets were quickly crowded

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with carriages laden with furniture, and property of various kinds. A little reflection muſt have made it evident, that without violent provocation, hoſtilities would not have commenced: and at all events, that timely notice would have been given, previous to any bombardment. It ought to have been conſidered, that a governor, acting under the authority of Great Britain, was reſident in the town, and, apparently, exerciſing the powers with which he was inveſted. No complaint had been tranſmitted, on his part, relative to the treatment experienced by him, and the adherents of adminiſtration. His prudent and conſiſtent conduct, had greatly tended to prevent perſonal outrages; and under ſuch circumſtances, it was manifeſt, that no commander in his Majeſty's ſervice, could have formed the moſt diſtant idea of proceeding to extremities, without commu-

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nicating his intentions to the ſupreme magiſtrate, who was undoubtedly a valuable pledge in the hands of the people, to ſecure themſelves and property from immediate violence.

But as reaſon ſeldom operates under inſtantaneous impreſſions, the Governor reſolved to purſue every eligible method that might effectually remove the apprehenſions ſo univerſally entertained. Actuated by ſuch motives, he made immediate application to the Council of Safety, and, in order to diſſipate the general anxiety, propoſed ſending a flag of truce on board his Majeſty's ſhip, the inſtant ſhe made her appearance, or came to an anchor off the harbour. An offer ſo evidently tending to preſerve the public tranquillity, was accepted with every ſuitable acknowledgment; and on the ſeventh inſtant, a ſhip of war, accompanied by a tender, paſſing by

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by Annapolis, I had the honour to be deputed to perform this ſervice; on which occaſion I thought it neceſſary, in order to obviate any miſrepreſentation, to tranſcribe, as follows, the ſubſtance of my negotiation, for the inſpection of the Governor, the Council of Safety, and the Committee of Obſervation.

Friday, March 8th.

" By order of his Excellency the Governor, and with the approbation of the preſident of the Council of Safety, I repaired yeſterday on board his Majeſty's ſloop, the Otter, commanded by Captain Squire, then lying at an anchor in Cheſapeak Bay, between Magotty River, and the Bodkin; and delivered to him a letter from the Governor, to which a ſatisfactory anſwer was returned, and immediately made known, for the general information of the citizens of Annapolis.

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" In converſation with Captain Squire, I took occaſion to expatiate on the temper and moderation of the people of Maryland; their attachment to the Britiſh conſtitution; and their ſettled averſion to any deſign of eſtabliſhing an independency: for an aſſurance of which, I referred him to the inſtructions given to their delegates in Congreſs, and to the proceedings of the late Convention.

" I informed Captain Squire, that from the commencement of theſe unhappy diſſentions, the Governor and his friends had been treated with reſpect and attention; I recommended the utmoſt moderation in the execution of his orders; and aſſured him, that in ſo doing, the eſteem of the people would be ſo far conciliated, as to render the Maryland ſtation as convenient and agreeable as the nature of the times would admit.

" Cap-

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" Captain Squire, on his part, explicitly acquainted me, that it was the furtheſt from his intentions to proceed to any extremities; that he was inſtructed to demand a privateer, avowedly fitted out at Baltimore, for hoſtile purpoſes; as alſo ſome veſſels laden with flour, of which the navy were in the greateſt want; that he was ready to pay the market price for any proviſions that the inhabitants would ſupply him with; but otherwiſe he was under an abſolute neceſſity to ſeize whatever might come within his power. Captain Squire promiſed, that if his requiſitions were complied with, not the leaſt damage ſhould enſue to any individual, or to the town of Baltimore.

" Captain Squire mentioned, that he had given particular directions to the gentlemen under his command, not to fire, under any pretext, upon ſuch perſons as might

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aſſemble on the adjacent ſhores, or permit any depredations; but to perform ſuch duty only, as was abſolutely eſſential to his Majeſty's ſervice.

"Captain Squire, from the whole of his behaviour, diſcovered the utmoſt concern for the unhappy breach which had taken place between the mother country, and her colonies; aud obliged as he was, to act in the line of his duty, it appeared his moſt earneſt wiſh to avoid any meaſures which might only tend to widen the calamitous diſſention.

"To the above I have only to add, that my buſineſs on board was to recommend temperate proceedings, and to obtain ſuch intelligence as might conduce to remove the apprehenſions of the much alarmed citizens of Annapolis, in which ſervice I have the ſatisfaction to believe I have not been altogether unſucceſsful.

W. E."

Early

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Early in the afternoon, the armed veſſel, of which they were in queſt, appeared in ſight. The tender, belonging to the ſloop of war, had proceeded further up the bay, and had taken poſſeſſion of a ſhip, with a valuable cargo, then lying at an anchor, and ready for ſea: but on the approach of a force greatly ſuperior, the captors were reluctantly obliged to relinquiſh their prize, and haſten to the Otter, with intimation of their diſappointment. Every circumſtance plainly indicated an intention, on the part of the privateer, to attack his Majeſty's ſloop; which immediately got under way, in order to prepare for their reception. While they were weighing, I took leave of the captain and officers, and repaired on board the ſchooner which brought me from Annapolis, in firm expectation that the action would commence before I could poſſibly proceed far on my return. Shortly after I quitted the Otter, ſhe

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ſhe ſtruck on a ſhoal, and heeled conſiderably, in which ſituation ſhe could have made very little reſiſtance, had the provincial commander thought it adviſable to have then availed himſelf of that opportunity. She, however, quickly righted, and ſtood for her opponent, who, poſſibly in purſuance of orders, put about, and directed her courſe for Baltimore. Night approaching, and the navigation being intricate, the Otter came again to an anchor near the mouth of the Patapſco.

On the ninth, the Otter returned down the bay, and anchored off the mouth of our harbour; ſoon after which a flag of truce was diſpatched on ſhore. The officer who brought it was received with reſpect; two gentlemen of the Council of Safety were preſent at the delivery of his meſſage; and the day was concluded at the Governor's, in a ſociable manner. During this interval,

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val, the ſeamen who accompanied the officer continued in their boat, at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore, where they ſupported a friendly converſation with the provincial military, who were ſtationed on the beach to preſerve regularity.

Early on the enſuing day, another flag attended the Governor, but continued with him a very ſhort time: and about noon, the Otter made ſail to join the fleet on the Virginia ſtation.

It was certainly a moſt happy circumſtance, that this viſit was not attended with more ſerious conſequences. Had an action taken place, which at one time appeared too probable, whatever might have been the event, factious and ambitious men would eagerly have embraced the opportunity to have fomented the general diſcontent. The Defence, which is the name of the armed ſhip fitted out at Baltimore, is much ſuperior in force to the Otter ſloop,

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ſloop, and was crouded with ſeamen and volunteers, who appeared reſolute and determined. Many are of opinion they acted wiſely in declining the conteſt. They had retaken the prize, the avowed object of their intentions; and admitting their claim equal with reſpect to courage, added to the circumſtances of a ſuperior force, theſe advantages would, probably, by no means have counterbalanced the acknowledged activity and addreſs, which ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhes the ſeamen of the Britiſh navy.

March 25th.

I am this day rendered happy by intelligence of your ſafe arrival, and moſt pleaſing reception. Under what a painful, tedious uncertainty have I laboured! But my mind is now relieved—you are ſurrounded by faithful friends, who will zealouſly exert every effort to promote your tran-

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tranquillity. That every wiſh you form may be ſpeedily, and effectually realized, will be the conſtant, ardent prayer of your faithful, &c.

LETTER XXVIII.

Annapolis, March 29th, 1776.

AN authentic account arrived this day, that the Britiſh forces have evacuated Boſton, and that General Waſhington, with the continental troops, had taken poſſeſſion. This important event took place on the ſeventeenth inſtant. The reaſons which rendered this meaſure neceſſary, will probably reach England at an earlier period than it will reach this part of America. Various opinions are induſtriouſly circulated; and ſome, who pretend to have inveſtigated

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tigated the real motives of this ſudden and unexpected event, conſider the conduct of Sir William Howe, as a preliminary towards a reconciliation.

The utmoſt credit is given to the Britiſh general, for the propriety and regularity with which he conducted the evacuation; and though his deſign for ſome days had been manifeſtly evident, the provincial army continued quiet in their works, without any efforts to obſtruct the embarkation, or to moleſt the rear. Several hundreds of the inhabitants, whoſe attachment to Government had rendered them obnoxious, have removed, with their families and effects, on board the tranſports and ſhips of war; and numerous conjectures are formed, with reſpect to their deſtination. The ſeaſon of the year operates ſtrongly againſt a diſtant voyage. Beacons are, therefore, eſtabliſhed along the coaſt, to give the moſt imme-

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immediate notice of their approach, ſhould a deſign be formed againſt any other part of the continent, which the commanders of his Majeſty's forces may deem more acceſſible. A ſhort time muſt reſolve every doubt.

From preſent appearances, there are but faint hopes of a ſpeedy reconciliation. Greater requiſitions will aſſuredly be made, than I fear, can conſiſtently be complied with. In political, as in moral events, one evil imperceptibly leads to another. The original limited boundary is caſt far behind; and new claims, and new purſuits, are even ſanctified by the fallacious plea of juſtice and neceſſity. In Maryland, a ſpirit of moderation is yet predominant; and if an opinion may be formed from general appearances, every endeavour is directed to reſtore a conſtitutional connexion with the parent ſtate. But in ſeveral populous

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pulous and powerful provinces, doctrines are induſtriouſly promulgated, and eagerly received, which will effectually bar every avenue to a pacific accommodation; and the moſt ſanguine adherents to the intereſts of Great Britain, cannot, with propriety, indulge the fainteſt idea, that any ſingle colony, however influenced by circumſtance or inclination, can poſſibly pretend to ſtem the torrent, ſhould it unhappily tend to the eſtabliſhment of an independent government.

From ſuch conſiderations, I am naturally led to believe, that the day cannot be far diſtant, when it will be neceſſary for thoſe to abandon this country, who cannot conſiſtently coincide with the popular meaſures. Be, therefore, always prepared to ſee me: and let not my ſudden appearance affect your mind too ſenſibly. On the other hand, yield not to gloomy apprehenſions,

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ſions, if a conſiderable time ſhould elapſe, without your receiving any intimation of my welfare; and be not alarmed, when reports are circulated relative to calamities incident to war. Adieu!

LETTER XXIX.

Annapolis, May 20, 1776.

THE Congreſs, by a declaration of the fifteenth inſtant, have earneſtly recommended to "the reſpective aſſem-"blies and conventions of the united co-"lonies, where no government ſufficient "to the exigencies of their affairs has "been hitherto eſtabliſhed, to adopt ſuch "government as ſhall in the opinion of "the repreſentatives of the people beſt

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" conduce to the happineſs and ſafety of " their conſtituents, and America in ge- " neral." This declaration is grounded on the prohibitory act, by which " the in- " habitants of Britiſh America are totally " excluded from the protection of the " crown." It is alſo alledged therein, " that no anſwer has been, or is like to be " returned to the humble petitions of the " colonies; but that inſtead of attending " to the redreſs of grievances, coercive " meaſures are adopted; by which the " whole force of the mother country, aid- " ed by foreign mercenaries, is to be ex- " erted for their deſtruction. From ſuch " conſiderations, it is aſſerted to be abſo- " lutely irreconcileable to reaſon, and good " conſcience, to take the oaths and affir- " mations neceſſary for the ſupport of any " government under the dominion of " Great Britain, and therefore expedient " that the exerciſe of every kind of au-

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" thority under the ſaid crown, ſhould be
" totally ſuppreſſed, and all the powers of
" government hereafter exerted under the
" authority of the people of the colonies;
" for the preſervation of internal peace,
" virtue, and good order; as well as for
" the defence of their lives, liberties, and
" properties, againſt the hoſtile invaſions,
" and cruel depredations of their enemies."
Whether any of the provinces, by their delegates in congreſs, have diſſented from a meaſure which muſt, inevitably, be productive of the moſt ſerious conſequences, has not yet been aſcertained; but it is certain, that the colony of Virginia has taken a moſt decided lead in promoting a total ſeparation from Great Britain. For on the ſame day in which congreſs came to the reſolution above-mentioned, the convention in Williamſburgh iſſued a ſimilar declaration, but expreſſed in ſuch ſtrong and pointed terms, as evidently indicate a

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ſettled determination never to acknowledge themſelves in any degree ſubordinate to the influence or authority of the Britiſh government.

There were preſent that day in convention, one hundred and twelve members, who, after ſtating the reaſons which influenced their conduct, conclude with the following *unanimous* reſolution.

" That the delegates appointed to re-
" preſent this colony in general congreſs,
" be inſtructed to propoſe to that reſpec-
" table body, *to declare the United Colonies*
" *free and independent States*, abſolved from
" all allegiance to, or dependence upon
" the crown, or parliament of Great Bri-
" tain; and that they give the aſſent of
" this colony to ſuch declaration, and to
" whatever meaſures may be thought pro-
" per and neceſſary by the congreſs for
" forming foreign alliances, and a confe-
" deration

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" deration of the colonies, at ſuch time,
" and in the ſame manner, as to them ſhall
" ſeem beſt: PROVIDED, that the power
" of forming government for, and the re-
" gulations of the internal concerns of
" ſuch colonies, be left to the reſpective
" colonial legiſlatures."

To very many this proceeding appears extraordinary and premature; commiſſioners being daily expected to receive the claims of the colonies; in order to adjuſt and regulate the terms of reconciliation. It is poſſible their powers may be ample; ſurely their extent ought at leaſt to be aſcertained, previous to any decided meaſure, which may preclude a poſſibility of entering upon a negociation. In ſpeaking thus far, I but declare the ſentiments of many reſpectable individuals who have, hitherto, taken a diſtinguiſhed lead in oppoſition to the Britiſh legiſlature; and I

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moſt fervently hope, that the influence of ſuch men, in the different provinces, will operate with ſufficient efficacy to prevent the final declaration of independence, until, in their opinion, it becomes an unavoidable expedient, and immediatelv neceſſary for the intereſt, the happineſs, and the freedom of America.

Friday, May 24.

Some events have recently taken place, in which I am particularly intereſted, and which will probably be attended with important conſequences to me and mine. But that you may be enabled to form a proper idea of my preſent critical ſituation, I muſt relate ſome material circumſtances, which took place early in the preceding month.

A gentleman, who had ſome private concerns with the Earl of Dunmore, obtained permiſſion from the council of ſafety of

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Maryland, to attend his lordſhip on board his ſhip, then lying off the town of Norfolk in Virginia; and on his return he took charge of ſuch letters as were arrived in the fleet, addreſſed to perſons in this province, amongſt them was a packet for our governor from Lord George Germaine, ſecretary of ſtate for the American department.

In his paſſage up the bay, he was boarded by an armed veſſel in the provincial ſervice, the commander of which examined his papers, and after taking from him the official diſpatches, permitted him to proceed to Annapolis, with ſuch letters as were totally unconnected with political tranſactions. On the 6th of April he arrived in this city, by which opportunity I had the happineſs to receive your epiſtle of the ſixteenth of November laſt.

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Lord George Germaine's letter acknowledged the important information which adminiſtration had received from our governor, who was aſſured "of his Majeſty's entire "approbation of his conduct; and was di-"rected to proceed in the line of his duty "with all poſſible addreſs and activity."

This packet was forwarded to General Lee, who has the command of the ſouthern diſtrict, by whom it was immediately diſpatched to Maryland, with a ſtrong recommendation to ſeize the perſon of the governor, together with all papers and documents of office; by which it was preſumed ſome important diſcoveries would be made of miniſterial intentions.

The council of ſafety acted on this critical occaſion with the utmoſt moderation and delicacy. Governor Eden, by the affability of his manners, and his evident diſpoſition to promote the intereſts of the province,

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province, had conciliated univerſal regard. They, therefore, avoided proceeding with that precipitate vigour ſo ſtrenuouſly enjoined; and only required him to give his parole, that he would not take any meaſures for leaving the continent, till after the meeting of the next convention.

This requiſition the governor, for ſome time, warmly reſiſted; but, on conviction that the meaſure was unavoidable, he thought it neceſſary to comply, therefore, on the ſixteenth of the month, gave every ſatisfactory aſſurance.

On the ſeventh inſtant the convention aſſembled, and yeſterday they came to a determination reſpecting my worthy patron; when it was reſolved, "that his "longer continuance in the province, at "ſo critical a period, might be preju-"dicial to the cauſe in which the colonies "were unanimouſly engaged; and that, "there-

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" therefore, his immediate departure for " England was abſolutely neceſſary." An addreſs was accordingly directed to be drawn up, and preſented to his excellency, which was delivered to him this evening by a committee of that body.

In this addreſs the ſentiments of the convention are expreſſed in liberal terms; " they acknowledge the ſervices rendered " by the governor to the country, on many " former occaſions; and they expreſs the " warmeſt wiſhes, that when the unhap- " py diſputes which, at preſent prevail, " are conſtitutionally accommodated, he " may ſpeedily return and re-aſſume the " reins of government."

I cannot yet form any concluſion how I am to regulate my conduct on this important occaſion. The governor is of opinion that it is my indiſpenſible duty to remain in Maryland, while the ancient form of

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of government is, in any degree, acknowledged and continued. But how long that will be, is a matter of great uncertainty.

It is but juſtice to confeſs, that the moſt reſpectable leading men in this province, have acted with as much temper and propriety, as the nature of the times would admit. Yet I am apprehenſive, however favourably they may be now diſpoſed, they will not long be able to ſtem the torrent which, in ſeveral provinces, runs ſtrongly towards independence. Whatever may be the complexion of my fate, I will continue to act conſiſtently with, what I conceive, to be my duty; and ſhould neceſſity compel me to reviſit my native clime, I ſhall aſſuredly be ſupported by a conſciouſneſs, that my misfortunes are derived from inevitable events, and not from impropriety of conduct.

Our

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Our friends muſt not expect from my pen, any comments on the preſent operations: I am determined to avoid diſcuſſions which cannot poſſibly anſwer any ſalutary purpoſe; nor will I cenſure any individual, or collective body, merely from being actuated by ſentiments different from my own. Human nature, even in the full poſſeſſion of every human acquirement, cannot poſſibly be exempt from error: and the beſt intended actions are, ſometimes, liable to cenſure. I therefore truſt it will be ever my diſpoſition to judge in the moſt favourable manner of my fellow-creatures, and acknowledge every man to be right, whoſe conduct is directed by the conſcientious dictates of his breaſt.

Saturday, June 1.

Our friend S—— embarked laſt Sunday for Virginia, to learn whether there were any

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any veſſels, on that ſtation, bound for England; and yeſterday he returned from his expedition. A ſhip of war, under a flag of truce, will ſhortly be ordered hither to convey the governor down the bay; who is now fully engaged in making preparations for his departure. I am, however, of opinion, he will not immediately proceed for Europe; but that he will be anxious to remain near the ſcene of action, until a competent judgment can be formed, whether any reconciliation is likely to be effected; an event which a few weeks will probably determine.

Mr. S——, myſelf, and my colleague, are to continue for the preſent in our reſpective ſtations. The firſt named is charged with the ſettlement of the governor's private concerns; and as the loan office is of the utmoſt provincial importance, it is abſolutely neceſſary that the commiſſioners ſhould

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ſhould continue to act in that department, as long as a ſhadow remains of the ancient conſtitution. Should thoſe who have now the aſcendency, think it expedient to model a new ſyſtem, under which I cannot conſcientiouſly remain, I ſhall avail myſelf of the firſt opportunity to take leave of this continent.

In conſequence of reſiding with the governor, I expected an exemption from any penalties inflicted on perſons, who had refuſed to aſſociate or enrol. But in this idea I was very materially miſtaken. The committee of obſervation will not conſider me as a member of his excellency's houſehold; alledging in ſupport of their opinion, that I hold offices immediately dependent on the province. Theſe are not times to diſpute nice points. I have therefore paid ten pounds for my fine, and have taken a receipt for the ſame. My

arms

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arms have likewiſe been demanded. I am, however, happy to inform you, that I have conſtantly been treated with kind attention, even by political opponents. It is my endeavour to regulate my conduct with propriety; carefully avoiding mixed company; taking heed that "I offend not with my tongue;" and not permitting my pen to expatiate on the tendency of public tranſactions. I intruſt this to the care of a friend, bound to Liſbon; may it ſafely reach you!

LETTER XXX.

Annapolis, June 4th, 1776.

EVERY day is pregnant with ſome new event. I am apprehenſive from a recent circumſtance, that I muſt quickly bid

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bid adieu to Maryland. The committee of obſervation have, this morning, ſerved me with a ſummons to attend them on Thurſday next, "to give ſecurity for my "behaviour during the preſent unhappy "contention with Great Britain." I muſt either comply; ſubmit to impriſonment; or abandon the country. The firſt I conſider as incompatible with my oath of allegiance: confinement is an evil I would moſt willingly avoid; and a voyage to Europe will, inevitatably, ſubject me to all the complicated embarraſſments attending diſappointment, and a contracted income: but at all events, I will rely on Providence, and perſevere in my integrity.

When I appear before the Committee, I propoſe to intimate my intention of returning home; and ſhall only entreat a reaſonable time to adjuſt my public and private concerns; that I may be enabled to leave

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leave the province with unſullied reputation. I hope the Governor will not fail before my fate is determined.

Friday, 7th June.

I learn that many of our friends, who are ſuppoſed to be inimical to the popular cauſe, are alſo ſummoned by the Committee of Obſervation, ſo that ſuch conſolation as can be derived from having aſſociates in difficulty will at leaſt be afforded me. The concerns of the Loan Office, are of the utmoſt importance to the public; and ſome time will be abſolutely requiſite, to adjuſt them with propriety. The ruling powers will therefore, ſurely, be convinced of the neceſſity of this meaſure; and comply with a requiſition founded on reaſon, and propriety. In that caſe, a poſſibility appears, that an accommodation may be effected

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before the expiration of the term, which may be allotted for the ſettlement of that department; and we ſhall, conſequently, be reinſtated with every circumſtance of advantage and reputation.

Sunday, 9th June.

We are in hourly expectation of ſeeing the ſhip which is to convey the Governor from this province; and though I am ſolicitous to tranſmit the reſult of Tueſday's proceedings, yet, on his own account, I am anxious for his immediate departure, leſt any alteration ſhould take place, which may occaſion his detention in Maryland.

In my laſt letter, I mentioned that it was moſt earneſtly recommended by General Lee, to ſeize the perſon of the Governor, together with his papers and official documents. The Congreſs have, alſo, in ſtrong terms, urged the expediency of

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that meaſure; and the Convention of Virginia, have likewiſe come to a ſimilar reſolution; which they have publiſhed to the world; and which they are endeavouring to enforce with all their power.

The ſentiments expreſſed in the reſolve of that province, ſufficiently evince the danger of delay, as they already appear to operate, with great force, on the minds of the multitude; and there are ſome who publicly avow their opinion, that the community at large, are not bound to yield their aſſent to any proceedings of delegates, which, in their conſequences, may be prejudicial to the general intereſts of America.

That you may be enabled to form a clear idea, under what embarraſſing circumſtances the Governor is at preſent ſituated, I have tranſcribed the reſolve for your more particular information.

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"IN CONVENTION.

"*Williamſburg, Friday, May* 31, 1776.

"Reſolved, *unanimouſly*, That the Committee of Safety be directed to write a letter to the Preſident of the Convention of Maryland, in anſwer to his letter of the twenty-fifth inſtant, expreſſing the deepeſt concern at the proceedings of that Convention, reſpecting Governor Eden; and our reaſons for not becoming acceſſary thereto, by giving him a paſſport through this colony, or the bay adjoining: that we would with reluctance, in any caſe, intermeddle in the affairs of a ſiſter colony, but in this matter we are much intereſted; and the Convention of Maryland, by ſending their proceedings to the Committee of Safety, have made it the duty of the Convention, to declare their ſentiments thereon.

"That conſidering the intercepted letter from Lord George Germaine to Governor

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vernor Eden, in which his whole conduct, and confidential letters are approved; and he is directed to give facility and assistance to the operations of Lord Dunmore, against Virginia, we are at a loss to account for the Council of Safety of Maryland, their having neglected to seize him, according to the recommendation of the general Congress; and more so for the Convention having promoted his passage, to assist in our destruction, under a pretence of his retiring to England, which we conceive, from the above letter, he is not at liberty to do; that supposing he should go to Britain, it appears to us, that such voyage, with the address presented to him, will enable him to assume the character of a public agent, and by promoting division amongst the colonies, produce consequences the most fatal to the American cause: that as the reasons assigned for his departure, "That he must obey "the ministerial mandates while remain-

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" ing in his government," are very unſatis-factory, when the Convention declare, that " in his abſence, the government, in its " old form, will devolve on the Preſident " of the Council of State;" who will be under equal obligation to obey ſuch mandates. We cannot avoid imputing theſe proceedings to ſome undue influence of Governor Eden, under the maſk of friendſhip to America; and of the proprietary intereſt in Maryland, whereby the members of that Convention were betrayed into a vote of fatal tendency to the common cauſe, and, we fear, to this country in particular; and feel it an indiſpenſible duty, to warn the good people of that province againſt the proprietary influence.

" Reſolved, That the foregoing reſolution be forthwith publiſhed in the Virginia Gazette.

" EDM. PENDLETON, *Preſident.*

" JOHN TAZWELL, *Clk. Convention.*"

From

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From the above it appears evident, that my obſervations, reſpecting the temper and moderation of thoſe who, at preſent, direct the political concernments of this province, are well-founded. Independence is by no means the general wiſh in Maryland. Our neighbours are, however, active in propagating the popular doctrines, and I fear the number of proſelytes is daily augmenting. The above appeal of the colony of Virginia, has already added fuel to the fire; it has increaſed the zeal of the violent; and may poſſibly lead to meaſures, which thoſe who are now at the helm, have not yet thought it expedient to adopt.

Monday, 10th June.

To-morrow, I muſt obey the ſummons of the Committee. My colleague and I have drawn up the following repreſentation of our caſe, which we mean to deli-

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ver to the chairman of that body, in order to obviate the neceſſity of entering into bond.

" To the chairman and members of the Committee of Obſervation for Anne Arundel County.

" GENTLEMEN,

" We flatter ourſelves that the following repreſentation will engage the Committee's candid, and diſpaſſionate conſideration; and that when the perſonal liberty of even an individual is concerned, his endeavours to preſerve it will be received with indulgence.

" You will pleaſe, gentlemen, to obſerve, that it is not ordered by the Convention, that the Committees of Obſervation take bonds of all non-aſſociators, but it is left to their diſcretion, whether to require bonds or not; and in the exerciſe of this

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this power, though the committees are not held, as magiſtrates are in ſimilar caſes, by the obligation of an oath, yet we preſume they are bound in honour, not to demand ſecurity unneceſſary for the public good, and inconvenient and embarraſſing to the perſons called upon.

" From the above conſideration we inferred, on being required to give up our arms, without any demand or hint reſpecting the entering into bonds, that the Committee of Obſervation, in their diſcretion, did not deem it neceſſary, or conducive to the public good. Had we been called upon for that purpoſe, we ſhould have had an opportunity of appealing immediately to the Convention. To that reſpectable body, we could have repreſented our peculiar circumſtances; that we are officers of the Crown; that we have given ſecurity in London for the faithful diſcharge of our duty,

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duty, agreeable to inſtructions from time to time received, reſpecting the revenue of cuſtoms; that we are not entitled to our ſalaries without a nihil account, tranſmitted quarterly of our proceedings; and, that though a correſpondence of this nature could be no way injurious to America, yet it might, perhaps, be deemed a breach of the propoſed bond, and conſequently deprive us of the means of ſubſiſtence for ourſelves and families; for by the condition of this bond, "no correſpondence, "directly or indirectly, by letter, meſſage, "or otherwiſe, with any perſon holding a "civil office under the crown, is allowa-"ble," even a demand for, and receipt of our ſalaries, would be a breach of the condition preſcribed.

"Although we are not natives of this country, we are animated with the warmeſt attachment for its intereſt and happineſs; and

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and we flatter ourſelves, that our conduct, for a term of years, has been generally approved, both as ſervants of the public, and members of the community. We are determined to perſevere, faithfully and honourably, in diſcharging the duties of our reſpective offices, as long as with propriety we can act in the ſame; but we cannot ſacrifice our honour, or proſtitute our oaths, for temporary indulgences. Should we be obliged to depart from this continent, we hope we ſhall be permitted to take leave, with ſecurity to our perſons and property, agreeably to a reſolve of the Convention, in that caſe provided; and wherever we may fix our reſidence, we ſhall retain the moſt affectionate regard for Maryland, without deviating from our allegiance to our Sovereign, which has been, and will ever continue to be the invariable rule of our conduct.

"Not

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" Not to treſpaſs, gentlemen, upon your time, permit us to aſſure you, that we cannot, conſiſtent with our peace of mind, enter into the propoſed bond. We act ſolely from principle, and the dictates of conſcience. Relying, therefore, on your impartiality, we ſhall cheerfully ſubmit to whatever you may pleaſe to determine; and however Providence may diſpoſe of us in future, our prayers ſhall be continually offered for the proſperity of this once happy province, moſt ardently wiſhing a permanent and conſtitutional reconciliation may ſpeedily take place, and that Great Britain and America may remain, to the lateſt period, one happy, free, and undivided empire.

" We are, gentlemen,

" Your obedient,

" Humble ſervants,

" JOHN CLAPHAM,

" WM. EDDIS."

Should

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'Should the Committee be pleaſed to determine, agreeable to the reſolve of the Convention, and grant us paſſes to depart the country, we have only to deſire that a ſufficient time may be allotted us, to ſettle the various and intricate concerns of the loan-office, which we need not obſerve, are of the utmoſt importance to the community in general. It is alſo highly incumbent on us, to leave the buſineſs of that department in a clear ſtate, ſo that our ſecurities, who are engaged in very large ſums for our fidelity, may be honourably diſcharged from the obligations entered into on our behalf.'

We are by no means ſanguine, with regard to the above application; on the contrary, we are prepared to encounter every diſagreeable conſequence. It is poſſible a few weeks may be allotted, to adjuſt provincial and private concerns: we muſt then

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then give up every flattering expectation; every late erected hope. We muſt forſake ALL, or act inconſiſtently with the dictates of honour and of conſcience.

The caſe of my reſpectable colleague, is uncommonly ſevere. Mrs. C—— is on the point of adding to a family, already numerous, and totally dependent on his induſtry for ſupport. In times like theſe, it is impoſſible to diſpoſe of any property, in order to raiſe a ſufficiency for their temporary uſe in England; notwithſtanding which, he is determined to encounter the utmoſt malevolence of fortune; every accumulated evil, which penury can inflict, rather than deviate from his principles, or violate his allegiance.

Tueſday evening, 11th June.

We have attended the Committee, and have heard their deciſion. On our refuſing to enter into bond, with good and ſufficient

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ficient ſecurity, under the penalty of ten thouſand pounds each, we are directed to leave the province before the firſt of Auguſt. I ſhall be as expeditious as poſſible in adjuſting my concerns, and ſhall, probably, be with you before the concluſion of September.

Notwithſtanding the Convention broke up ſo lately, they are ſummoned to meet again in a few days, on account of ſome important diſpatches received from Congreſs. The Virginians are exceedingly irritated with our ruling powers, for permitting the Governor to leave the country; and are taking vigorous meaſures, which they truſt will have an effect in this province, to his prejudice. All who wiſh him well, are anxious to behold the ſhip that is to convey him hence, as apprehenſions are juſtly entertained of ſome violent meaſures to detain him.

A for-

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A formidable aſſociation has taken place in the town of Baltimore, under the appellation of the Whig Club; they loudly proclaim the abſolute neceſſity of ſeizing and ſecuring the perſon of the Governor, as a pledge for the public ſafety; and it is aſſerted, that a plan is actually in agitation to accompliſh this purpoſe, in defiance of that legiſlature which themſelves have eſtabliſhed. Under ſuch a combination of perplexing circumſtances, his Excellency conducts himſelf with the utmoſt coolneſs and fortitude: he does not appear to entertain the moſt remote ſuſpicion, but to rely confidently on the honour of the Convention, which is ſolemnly pledged for his ſafe departure.

I mean to entruſt this letter to the care of my patron, and therefore cannot entertain any apprehenſion that it will be liable to inſpection; and ſhall, in conſequence,

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quence, venture to make ſome comments on the late proceedings of the Committee of Obſervation.

I believe the demand of ſuch unreaſonable ſecurity is unprecedented: it is, therefore, evident, that the intention of that body, is to baniſh all who are deemed inimical to the popular cauſe. The caſe of the Crown officers is particularly diſtreſſing, as it is well known that they are required, under the moſt ſacred obligations, to give immediate circumſtantial information of any deſigns that may be concerted againſt the peace, or order of government. Who, therefore, in poſſeſſion of the leaſt ſhare of reaſon, would conſent to hazard ſo great a penalty, on behalf of men, who muſt undoubtedly be guilty of perjury, ſhould they neglect an opportunity to convey intelligence. Some of our friends, under ſimilar circumſtances, entertain an opinion,

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that when the Convention meet, they will check the authority of the reſpective committees, and afford ſome indulgence to thoſe who have been unneceſſarily oppreſſed by their power. For my part, I very little rely on ſuch deluſive expectations. The utmoſt moderation and temper, conſidering the complexion of the times, has, indeed, hitherto marked the proceedings of that body; but violent and inflammatory men, are now induſtriouſly ſtraining every nerve, to excite general confuſion, and plunge us fatally deep in ſchemes of independance. From this powerful conſideration, I am decidedly of opinion that the Convention will not hazard their influence, or their popularity, by injudiciouſly attempting to extend any indulgence to a deſcription of men, who are too generally proſcribed as enemies to the freedom, and the intereſts of America.

The

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The inſtant the governor embarks, I ſhall eſtabliſh my temporary reſidence with my worthy colleague and his family, and with them ſhall probably bid adieu to Maryland, and to a valuable circle of reſpectable connexions.

Sunday, June 16.

Not any intelligence is yet received of the expected ſhip. The governor appears rather anxious for her arrival, and his friends are ſolicitous for his immediate departure, as there are buſy ſpirits at work, who labour to excite commotions with a view to his detention.

It ſeems to be the general opinion, that the colonies will ſpeedily be declared FREE and INDEPENDENT STATES!—In that caſe what dreadful calamities muſt inevitably enſue!—But ſurely every weighty reaſon ſhould operate for poſtponing this

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moſt important meaſure, until the commiſſioners have made known the extent of their powers, and the terms they are authorized to propoſe. Should the colonies be thus precipitate, Great Britain cannot tamely admit the claim, and the ſword alone muſt determine the fatal conteſt.

Thus circumſtanced, I look forward with extreme impatience to the hour of my departure from this country, where every ſurrounding proſpect is dreary and uncomfortable. It is probable I ſhall be obliged to go by the way of Nova Scotia. From Halliſax, the capital of that province, I ſhall find frequent opportunities of a paſſage to England; but from this place ſo few, that, after I am ready for embarkation, I may be detained many weeks before I can be accommodated. But to accompliſh my purpoſe, I muſt obtain permiſſion to join the Britiſh fleet on the Virginia

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Virginia ſtation, from which veſſels are frequently diſpatched to the general rendezvous.

It is poſſible that this courſe may prove advantageous to our private concerns; and I am confident our worthy friend the commiſſary-general, will exert his utmoſt endeavours to render my ſituation agreeable, while I am neceſſarily detained in that part of America. By the firſt ſhip after the receipt of this, I requeſt you to inform him that, "as it is probable I ſhall viſit "his ſtation previous to my return to Eu-"rope, I entreat him to take charge of "all letters that may be forwarded to his "care." He will gratify his own inclination in rendering us every good office; and on my interview with him, I may poſſibly obtain ſuch information as may enable me to regulate my concerns, with a proper attention to our mutual intereſt.

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The convention are to meet on Wedneſday, and it is probable, before they riſe, that ſome important meaſures will be determined on by Congreſs, in which they will be expected to acquieſce. Independence is the general cry of the infatuated multitude: What effects may flow from a proceeding of this nature, are dreadful to imagine. Moſt fervently do I wiſh the governor ſafe on board; for though the convention, at their former ſeſſion, pledged their honour for his peaceable departure, they may, from an idea of abſolute neceſſity, think themſelves juſtified in reſcinding that reſolution. The times are ſo dangerous and unſettled, that it is impoſſible to draw concluſions from preſent appearances. Every countenance is clouded with ſuſpicion, and the warmeſt attachments are obliterated by the malignant influence of political contention. The governor, apparently, continues eaſy and collected;

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lected: he is treated with every exterior mark of attention; and I am perſuaded, the conſiſtency and propriety of his conduct, in many trying and peculiar ſituations, will be long remembered with ſentiments of eſteem and gratitude.

Sunday, June 23.

Laſt night the Fowey frigate, commanded by Captain George Montague, arrived off this harbour; and early this morning the firſt lieutenant came on ſhore with a flag of truce. The governor will embark in the courſe of the day. Would he were gone! It is impoſſible to determine what a minute may produce. The militia are under arms, and a general confuſion prevails. You can well conceive the ſenſations I experience on this very affecting occaſion.

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LETTER XXXI.

Annapolis, June 29, 1776.

MY laſt, by the governor, will, I truſt, ſafely reach you; but when an opportunity may again offer to tranſmit intelligence of my ſituation, is indeed a moſt painful uncertainty. I ſhall, nevertheleſs, occaſionally reſume the pen, as circumſtances may ariſe; and, as it is my intent carefully to avoid commenting on political tranſactions, I hope not to encounter any hazard in the courſe of our future correſpondence.

Till the moment of the governor's embarkation on the 23d, there was every reaſon to apprehend a change of diſpoſition to his prejudice. Some few were even clamorous for his detention. But the council of ſafety, who acted under a reſolve of the

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the convention, generouſly ratified the engagements of that body; and after they had taken an affectionate leave of their late ſupreme magiſtrate, he was conducted to the barge with every mark of reſpect due to the elevated ſtation he had ſo worthily filled.

A few minutes before his departure, I received his ſtrict injunctions to be ſteady and cautious in the regulation of my conduct; and not to abandon my ſituation, on any conſideration, until abſolutely diſcharged by an authority which might, too probably, be erected on the ruins of the ancient conſtitution. I promiſed the moſt implicit attention to his ſalutary advice; and rendered my grateful acknowledgments for the innumerable obligations he had conferred on me; at the ſame time I offered my moſt fervent wiſhes, that his future happineſs might be in full proportion

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tion to the integrity of his conduct, and the benevolence of his mind.

In about an hour the barge reached the Fowey, and the governor was received on board under a diſcharge of cannon: his baggage and proviſions were left on ſhore, to be forwarded in the courſe of the enſuing day.

During the night, ſome ſervants, and a ſoldier belonging to the Maryland regiment, found means to eſcape on board his Majeſty's ſhip, which being almoſt immediately diſcovered, a flag was ſent off, with a meſſage, to captain Montague, demanding the reſtitution of the men, previous to any further communication.

Captain Montague, in reply, acquainted the council of ſafety, "that he could not, conſiſtently with his duty, deliver up any perſons who, as ſubjects of his Britannic Majeſty,

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Majeſty, had fled to him for refuge and protection; that he had ſtrictly given it in charge to ſuch officers as might be ſent on ſhore, not to bring off any of the inhabitants without the expreſs permiſſion of the ruling powers; but that the caſe was extremely different reſpecting thoſe who had, even at the hazard of life, given evidence of their attachment to the ancient conſtitution."

This meſſage not being deemed ſatisfactory, a letter was diſpatched to the governor, demanding his interference in this critical buſineſs, with an intimation, that the detention of the men would be conſidered as a manifeſt breach of the regulations under which flags of truce are eſtabliſhed.

Governor Eden received the officer with proper attention, but replied, he had only to obſerve, that on board his Majeſty's ſhip, he had not the leaſt authority; and that Captain

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Captain Montague was not to be influenced by his opinion, as he acted on principles which he conceived to be ſtrictly conſiſtent with the line of his duty.

The event of this negotiation was diſagreeable in its conſequences to the governor. The populace were exceedingly irritated, and it was thought expedient not only to prohibit all further intercourſe with the Fowey, but alſo to detain the various ſtores which the governor had provided for his voyage to Europe. This reſolution was intimated in expreſs terms; and, on the evening of the 24th, Captain Montague weighed anchor, and ſtood down the bay, for his ſtation on the coaſt of Virginia.

This incident, inconſiderable as it may appear, will operate ſtrongly againſt thoſe who have hitherto reſtrained the impetuoſity of the popular zeal. The delegates in congreſs, for

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for this province, have been inſtructed to oppoſe the declaration of independence; but it now appears almoſt a general opinion, that Maryland will coincide in every meaſure which the uniting colonies may think eſſential for the intereſt and happineſs of the general community.

July 2.

The 31ſt of the preſent month was the extent of time limited for our continuance in Maryland, by the committee of obſervation, in conſequence of our refuſal to enter into the propoſed bond. Conſcious that it was impoſſible to ſettle the concerns of the loan office with ſatisfaction to the public, to our ſecurities, and to ourſelves, within the term they had thought proper to preſcribe, Mr. C—— and myſelf determined to addreſs the convention immediately on their meeting, for ſuch relief as,

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on principles of juſtice and equity, we were entitled to demand.

We, accordingly, in firm, but reſpectful terms, repreſented our peculiar circumſtances, referring them to the memorial which had been preſented by us to the committee of obſervation. On due conſideration it was agreed by both houſes, "to depute ſome members of their body to inveſtigate the accounts and tranſactions of the commiſſioners of the loan office, to diſcharge them from that important truſt, and to appoint others to ſucceed them therein."

In conſequence of this determination, a conſiderable period may poſſibly elapſe, before this buſineſs will be finally adjuſted, till which time we ſhall be permitted to remain quietly in the country without any further requiſition to enter into engagements. This undoubtedly is a great point

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gained in our favour, procraſtination being, with us, an object of the utmoſt importance. A ſhort time may be productive of events conducive to public and private tranquillity. "Hope ſprings eternal." But were a judgment to be formed from the preſent aſpect of political concerns, every peaceful expectation muſt be abandoned.

Annapolis, July 8th.

At length the deciſive blow is ſtruck. The colonies, by their delegates in congreſs, are declared FREE AND INDEPENDENT STATES, which great event took place on the fourth inſtant! By this act they have abjured all allegiance to the Britiſh crown; and have renounced every political connexion with the land from which they derive their origin. The declaration will ſoon reach England, and will be found to contain a long catalogue of grievances.

This

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This compoſition, which is replete with invective, is not more temperate than the meaſures which it profeſſes to defend. What effect it will have on the councils and operations of government, a ſhort time will poſſibly determine.

I cannot but contemplate, with horror, the complicated miſeries which appear ready to overwhelm this devoted country. Thouſands who, at this inſtant, are fluſhed with hope, and exulting in a total ſeparation from the intereſts of the parent ſtate, will, probably, before many months elapſe, execrate the precipitation by which they have been hurried into meaſures fatally prejudicial to their repoſe and happineſs.

Before you receive this, the particulars of the action off Charles Town, in South Carolina, on the 28th of June, will be in the poſſeſſion of government. Our accounts ſay, the Britiſh troops were totally defeated with a prodigious loſs, after many exertions perfectly

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fectly characteriſtic of the national bravery. It is reported, that the quarter deck of the Briſtol was, at one time, cleared of every perſon but the intrepid Sir Peter Parker, who ſtood alone, a ſpectacle of heroic firmneſs never exceeded in military hiſtory. Three of the Engliſh frigates, by accident, or through the ignorance of their pilot, were entangled in ſome ſhoals, where, for a long time, they appeared to be immoveably fixed. With great damage and difficulty, two were, at length, got off; but not in a condition to render any effectual ſervice. The Actæon, of twenty-eight guns, was burnt by her officers and crew, on the following morning, to prevent her falling into the hands of the provincials, every effort having proved ineffectual to remove her from her ſituation. This deciſive victory, as it is here termed, has given great ſpirits to the advocates for the new government, and will

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tend to confirm them in their hoſtile diſpoſition.

I truſt this to a circuitous paſſage. It will be forwarded by the French iſlands. Entertain not the moſt diſtant apprehenſion with reſpect to my ſafety; I am treated with liberality and attention. When ſhall I again acknowledge a letter from you? To remain thus ignorant of the ſituation of my family, is a weighty addition to the complicated evils I encounter. We muſt ſubmit with fortitude!

LETTER XXXII.

Annapolis, Aug 1, 1776.

ON the 14th ult. Lord Howe ſafely arrived at Staten Iſland, after having been long expected, by many perſons, with the moſt anxious impatience.

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His lordſhip immediately diſpatched on ſhore, by a flag, a circular letter to the governors of the colonies, acquainting them with the powers with which he was inveſted; and deſiring that they would publiſh, as generally as poſſible, an encloſed declaration of the Britiſh legiſlature.

In this declaration the public are acquainted with the powers himſelf, and his brother the general, are inveſted with, under the late act of parliament, by which they are authorized "To grant general or particular "pardons to thoſe who, in the tumult of "the times, might have deviated from "their juſt allegiance; and who were "willing, by a ſpeedy return to their duty, "to reap the benefits of the royal fa-"vour." "The commiſſioners have like-"wiſe the power of declaring any colony, "town, or diſtrict, to be at his Majeſty's "peace; in which caſe the penal proviſions

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" of that law would ceaſe in their favour.
" A due conſideration is likewiſe promiſed
" to the ſervices of all perſons who may
" contribute to the reſtoration of the pub-
" lic tranquillity."

The above papers having been immediately forwarded by General Waſhington to congreſs, were, as ſpeedily publiſhed, by their directions, in all the prints throughout the united colonies, accompanied with the following reſolution.

" IN CONGRESS.

July 19.

" RESOLVED, that a copy of the circular letters, and of the declaration they encloſed, from Lord Howe, to Mr. Franklin, Mr. Eden, Lord Dunmore, Mr. Martin, and Sir James Wright, late governors, ſent to Amboy by a flag, and forwarded to congreſs by General Waſhington, be publiſhed

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liſhed in the ſeveral gazettes, that the good people of theſe United States may be informed of what *nature* are the commiſſions, and what the *terms*, with the expectation of which the inſidious court of Great Britain, has endeavoured to amuſe and diſarm them: and that the few, who ſtill remain ſuſpended by a hope, founded either in the juſtice, or moderation of their late king, may now, at length, be convinced, that the valour alone of their country is to ſave its liberties.

CHA. THOMPSON, Sec."

Thus are the ſanguine expectations of multitudes cruelly fruſtrated; it being eſteemed criminal, by the ruling powers, to aſſert the pacific inclinations of the Britiſh miniſtry. On the contrary, it is loudly maintained, that unconditional ſubmiſſion is the only ground on which the commiſſioners are empowered to treat; and there-

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fore to commence any negotiation on ſuch a baſis, would be inconſiſtent with good ſenſe, ſound policy, and the eſſential intereſts of America. "All hope excluded thus," we muſt prepare for conſequences of the moſt ſerious nature; not the moſt diſtant probability appearing of a friendly accommodation.

Auguſt 9.

Advice is received that Lord Dunmore, with his fleet, has quitted the coaſt of Virginia; and is ſuppoſed to be gone to the ſouthward. By every account, the hardſhips experienced by the loyaliſts, and by all who were on board thoſe ſhips, have been dreadful in the extreme. The intenſe heat of the weather, the badneſs and ſcarcity of water and proviſions, together with the cloſeneſs of the ſmall veſſels in which the wretched fugitives were crowded, produced a malignant fever, which made

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made great havock, but more particularly affected the negroes, moſt of whom were carried off by the violence of the diſorder. Thus are the hopes terminated with reſpect to the emancipation of ſlaves, in order to ſuppreſs the commotions in the ſouthern colonies.

Thurſday, 5th September.

Intelligence of a moſt alarming nature has been tranſmitted from New York. On the twenty-ſecond ultimo, the Britiſh forces landed without oppoſition, near Utrecht and Graveſend, on the ſouth-weſt end of Long Iſland; and on the twenty-ſeventh, a deſperate action enſued, which has proved fatal to the arms of America. Particulars of the loſs in killed, wounded, and priſoners, are not yet aſcertained. Maryland has ſuffered moſt ſeverely in this conflict; many young men of the moſt reſpectable families, being in-

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cluded in the number of the ſlain. General Waſhington has effected a maſterly retreat, with the reſidue of the provincial army, to New York, which is repreſented as invulnerable. This defeat does not yet appear to be attended with ſuch conſequences as might naturally be expected: the coloniſts ſeem to depend on their internal reſources, and defy the utmoſt exertions of a brave and conquering enemy. There are, however, moderate men, and ſome of conſiderable influence, who are inclined to think that the late event may induce the leaders in Congreſs to commence an immediate negotiation with the parliamentary commiſſioners. Whatever may tend to the reſtoration of peace, cannot but afford the higheſt gratification to every humane, benevolent mind.

Monday,

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Monday, 16th September.

In conſequence of a meſſage ſent by Lord Howe to Congreſs, three gentlemen were deputed to confer with him and the general, in order to learn the extent of their authority, and to hear ſuch propoſitions as they were enabled to make.

Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Rutledge, were the committee appointed on this very intereſting occaſion; and the report they have made to Congreſs on the ſubject of their conference has totally deſtroyed every pleaſing idea of a pacific treaty.

The following are the words in which the Committee have thought proper to ſum up the particulars of their late negotiation; and I ſhall only add on the ſubject, that reaſons are from this deduced,

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to proſecute the war with the utmoſt vigour, againſt the power and authority of the mother country.

" Upon the whole, it did not appear to " your Committee, that his Lordſhip's " commiſſion contained any other autho- " rity of importance, than what is con- " tained in the act of Parliament, viz. " that of granting pardons, with ſuch ex- " ceptions as the commiſſioners ſhall think " proper to make; and of declaring Ame- " rica, or any part of it, to be in the " King's peace upon ſubmiſſion: for as to " the power of inquiring into the ſtate of " America, which his Lordſhip mentioned " to us, and of conferring and conſulting " with any perſons the commiſſioners " might think proper; and repreſenting " the reſult of ſuch converſations to the " miniſtry, who (provided the colonies " would ſubject themſelves,) might, after " all,

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" all, or might not, at their pleaſure,
" make any alterations in the former in-
" ſtructions to governors, or propoſe in
" parliament any amendment of the acts
" complained of, we apprehend any ex-
" pectation from the effect of ſuch a power,
" would have been too uncertain and pre-
" carious to be relied on by America, had
" ſhe ſtill continued in her ſtate of de-
" pendence."

Tueſday, 24th September.

The city of New York is in the poſſeſſion of Sir William Howe; but the provincials have ſtill great ſtrength in the vicinity of that capital, and talk of maintaining their ground till reinforcements arrive, which may enable them to retrieve, with effect, every paſt calamity. This event happened on the fifteenth inſtant, and we are hourly in expectation of further important tranſactions.

Tueſday,

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Tuesday, 1st October.

Though the declaration of independence was made on the fourth of July last, the form of government, with respect to Maryland is, by no means finally adjusted; and from the delay which has been evident in the proceedings of our Convention, and the committees subordinate to their direction, I cannot but indulge the pleasing idea, in spite of hostile operations, that the moderate and dispassionate, who are included in those bodies, have still sufficient influence to retard an absolute establishment of the new constitution; while the most distant possibility remains of a reconciliation being effected.

The committee appointed to investigate the accounts of the loan office, also appear dilatory in bringing the affairs of that department to a conclusion; and you very well

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well know how particularly I am engaged, both in honour and gratitude, to obtain an ample and proper diſcharge from an employment of ſo much importance to the community.

From the preſent political appearances, I cannot but indulge an opinion, that our legiſlative body will not proceed with alacrity in the proſecution of this buſineſs. A ſhort—a very ſhort time, will probably determine how far the colonies are enabled to ſupport coercive meaſures againſt the formidable exertions of the Britiſh nation; and ſhould the leaſt proſpect appear of returning peace, it would be impolitic and fruitleſs to diſcharge officers who would immediately be reinſtated with advantage, on affairs reverting into the ancient channel.

My worthy colleague and his family are preparing to remove from Annapolis to a houſe belonging to Mr. D———, on Hunting Ridge, about ſix miles diſtant from

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from Baltimore, to which place I intend to accompany them. We propoſe to attend alternately in this city, until diſcharged from our employments, or confirmed in them.

Hunting Ridge, Nov. 1.

I write to you from one of the moſt delightful ſituations on the continent of America, where I have obtained an occaſional retreat from the noiſe, the tumult, and the miſeries of the public world. From the back piazza of our habitation, we command a truly picturesque view into ſeveral fertile counties; a diſtant proſpect of the eaſtern ſhore; the magnificent waters of the Cheſapeak, and the river Patapſco, from the entrance at the Bodkin Point, to its apparent termination at the town of Baltimore. After this inadequate deſcription, I need not obſerve, that we reſide on a lofty eminence, where

« the

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" ——————————the air
" Nimbly, and ſweetly recommends itſelf
" Unto our gentle ſenſes."

As Mr. C——— and myſelf are not yet ſuperceded in our office, we attend in rotation, every other week, in Annapolis, from which this place is about thirty miles diſtant. The contraſt we experience on theſe occaſions, is hardly to be deſcribed; from the churliſh ſounds of hoſtile preparation to the calm enjoyments of peaceful retirement. Though in the vicinity of a large and populous town, agitated with uproar and confuſion, and rumours of approaching calamities, here, ſheltered by ſurrounding woods, we are entirely ſecluded " from the buſy haunts of men," and are benevolently permitted to enjoy our retirement without dread of moleſtation. It is well known that we have never attempted, by any injudicious ſteps, to incur the reſentment of thoſe who conceive they are warranted by juſtice and

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and by duty, to take a contrary part; and while we thus continue to regulate our conduct, we ſhall ſurely experience attention, with the moſt perfect ſecurity.

Hunting Ridge, 1ſt Decem.

The whole of York Iſland is in the poſſeſſion of his Majeſty's forces. General Howe has, for ſome time, been attempting to force General Waſhington to a deciſive action, which he has, hitherto, avoided with the penetration of a Fabius. Sir William, finding every well-concerted effort ineffectual to accompliſh this purpoſe, has directed his arms againſt the garriſon left for the defence of Fort Waſhington, a very ſtrong poſt, ſituated on a lofty eminence, and to which the approaches were extremely difficult.

On the thirteenth of November, the provincial commander was ſummoned to ſur-

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ſurrender, which he refuſed to do, in the moſt peremptory terms, declaring he would defend his ſtation to the laſt extremity. A general aſſault was, in conſequence, determined upon, which took place on the ſixteenth, when the fort was carried, after a ſpirited defence; and the garriſon, conſiſting of near three thouſand men, became priſoners of war.

On the eighteenth, Lord Cornwallis, with a ſtrong detachment, paſſed the north river, in order to attack Fort Lee, and to make ſome impreſſion in the Jerſeys, in which undertaking he was ſo ſucceſsful, that the garriſon, conſiſting of about two thouſand men, had a very narrow eſcape, by abandoning the poſt immediately before his Lordſhip's arrival, leaving their artillery, ſtores, and tents behind them.

For the particulars of theſe important tranſactions, I ſhall refer you to the ac-

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counts tranſmitted home to adminiſtration; and have only to offer my moſt fervent prayers, that the rapid ſucceſſes which have hitherto attended the Britiſh arms, may be productive of an honourable, and permanent reconciliation, founded on ſuch principles as may ſecure to America the ineſtimable bleſſings of liberty, with every conſequence attending an abundant population, and an extenſive commerce.

I fear many of my letters will miſcarry; but I hazard every opportunity of writing. I am perſuaded you do the ſame, though fortune has hitherto been adverſe to my wiſhes. Oppoſe, with all your power, the intruſion of anxious thoughts, and believe me unalterably yours.

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LETTER XXXIII.

Annapolis, Jan. 1, 1777.

SINCE the day our hearts and intereſts were united, frequent occaſions have been afforded for the exerciſe of our fortitude and reſignation, and by the bleſſing of Heaven, we have, hitherto, been ſafely conducted through every viciſſitude. Let us then take courage from paſt experience. The year opens with the moſt dreary proſpects. The recent event of Trenton, will add ſtrength to the ſinews of war, and cruelly procraſtinate the wiſhed return of peace.

The capture of Rhode Iſland, which happened on the eighth of December; and the ſurpriſing of General Lee, on the thirteenth, by Colonel Harcourt, were cir-

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circumſtances which excited ſanguine hopes in the breaſts of thoſe who perſevered in their attachment to the ancient conſtitution; and theſe hopes were encouraged by a ſtrong probability, that Philadelphia muſt ſpeedily follow the fortune of New York, the Delaware being the only apparent obſtacle that ſeemed likely to oppoſe the progreſs of the royal arms.

The provincial forces, who were only enliſted for a ſtipulated time, diſcouraged by a ſucceſſion of unfavourable events, were ſo greatly reduced in their numbers, that it is aſſerted, on the day preceding the affair at Trenton, the muſter roll ſcarcely exceeded three thouſand men; and the greater part of thoſe were anxious for the expiration of their term, that they might return to their families, and their accuſtomed vocations. The Congreſs, from a well-founded apprehenſion of danger, retreated

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treated with precipitation to Baltimore; and many who had been moſt zealous in promoting hoſtile meaſures, began to avow ſentiments of a conciliatory nature; in a word, the general diſpoſition of the colonies tended to a reconciliation, and even the ſubmiſſion of ſome of the provinces was daily expected.

Affairs were in this promiſing train, when the American general planned, and executed the late important enterpriſe. Trifling as this manœuvre might have been conſidered, in the proſecution of a regular war, it has been, in this inſtance, attended with the moſt prejudicial and alarming conſequences to his Majeſty's arms. It has given ſpirits to thoſe who ſhewed the utmoſt deſpondency; it has recruited the enfeebled ranks; and it has enabled the enthuſiaſtic leaders to magnify, in the moſt exaggerated terms, the advantages

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that muſt inevitably ariſe from the ſucceſs of this brilliant exertion.

To many it has appeared extraordinary, that the advanced poſt was occupied by Heſſian regiments, who might reaſonably be ſuppoſed leſs competent than Britiſh, to determine on the authenticity of intelligence, or the diſpoſition of the coloniſts, with reſpect to political attachment. But how far cenſure is well founded, it becomes not an individual to determine. It ought rather to be concluded, that thoſe arrangements took place, which on mature reflection, apparently, led to the advancement of the general ſervice.

The mode hitherto adopted by Congreſs, in conducting their enliſtments, has been found ſo inadequate to every eſſential purpoſe, that they have concluded on adopting a different one, which affords the probability of a permanent army, under the moſt

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moſt ſtrict and regular military diſcipline. Hitherto their troops have been raiſed with a condition of receiving their diſcharge at the expiration of twelve months; and they conceived, that this rotation of duty would occaſion the weight to fall leſs heavy on the general community. But ſuch a continual ſucceſſion of men, unexperienced, and impatient of reſtraint, has rather impeded than promoted the ſucceſs of their operations. It is therefore reſolved, to proſecute the new levies on a ſettled eſtabliſhment. Thoſe who engage to enliſt during the continuance of the war, are to have an immediate bounty of twenty dollars; and one hundred acres of land each, at the expiration of their ſervice. Officers are to be rewarded in proportion to their reſpective ſituations. Others are admitted for the ſtipulated term of three years, who are to receive the ſame bounty, without any landed compenſation. By this regula-

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tion, it is ſuppoſed a very formidable army will be ready to take the field early in the enſuing ſpring, under a commander who has inſpired every adherent to the meaſures of Congreſs, with the moſt unlimited confidence in his ſuperior abilities.

It is confidently aſſerted, and it appears to be univerſally believed, that General Waſhington will quickly be enabled to repoſſeſs the Jerſeys, and to contract the Britiſh poſts into a very limited ſphere of action. This is certain, that apprehenſions reſpecting Philadelphia, are no longer ſeriouſly entertained, Congreſs having it in contemplation, ſpeedily to reſume their deliberations in that city.

Myſelf and colleague, are not yet ſuperceded in our provincial employment; but the day is aſſuredly at hand. When that event has taken place, I am perſuaded I ſhall be at liberty to reviſit England; and have

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have reaſon to believe, I ſhall be neceſſitated to ſhape my courſe by way of the Weſt Indies. I think it poſſible we may be reſtored to each other early in the enſuing ſummer.

It has been a matter of ſurpriſe to many, that the capes of Virginia have, in a great meaſure, been left open, ſince the departure of Lord Dunmore and his fleet from the Cheſapeak. In conſequence of this apparent remiſsneſs, on the part of the Britiſh cruizers, a conſiderable commerce is carried on, with very little interruption, between Virginia and Maryland, and the French and Dutch iſlands, and even with ſeveral ports on the continent of Europe. Thoſe who continue attached to the intereſt of Britain, behold, with infinite concern, many valuable prizes continually brought into American harbours, by privateers ſo inconſiderable in appearance, that they

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they might readily be miſtaken for boats belonging to the veſſels they were triumphantly conducting. Almoſt all the ſhips which have hitherto been taken, had not the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, conſequently were not prepared for reſiſtance; and if a certain judgment may be formed from the ſucceſs which has attended the adventurers from this, and the adjacent colony, Great Britain muſt ſenſibly experience the loſs ſhe has already ſuſtained, by the rapid and ſpirited exertions, which have been ſo unexpectedly directed againſt her commerce.

The exorbitant price of almoſt every eſſential article, exceeds credibility. Thoſe few who are in poſſeſſion of ſpecie, do not permit it to circulate; and the conſtant depreciation of the paper currency, baffles every attempt of the legiſlature to ſupport its credit; yet, in ſpite of every apparently

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inſurmountable obſtacle, the utmoſt alacrity appears for the proſecution of the war; and the moſt ſanguine hopes are evidently entertained, that the political connexion between Great Britain and America, is finally and effectually diſſolved.

The internal government of Maryland, is not yet perfectly adjuſted, but the arrangements, under the new conſtitution, are in great forwardneſs, and will ſpeedily take place in the various departments. Our diſcharge will, undoubtedly, immediately follow, and we ſhall be free to ſhape our courſe as providence may direct.

When we again meet, I truſt we ſhall find friends, "though they grow not thick on every bough," who will promote our endeavours to obtain a competent maintenance. Under all the varied circumſtances of life, we will ſteadily labour to merit ſucceſs; and ſhould our beſt endea-

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endeavours be fruſtrated, we ſhall, at leaſt, be exempt from ſelf-accuſation, and can derive no little ſatisfaction, from a conſciouſneſs that our ſufferings are not the bitter fruits of diſſipation or miſconduct.

LETTER XXXIV.

Frederick County, March 1, 1777.

CHANGE of ſcene is frequently conducive to a temporary tranquillity. In order therefore to obtain, if poſſible, ſome relief, ſome mitigation of my anxiety, I ſet out, about twelve days ſince, on a viſiting excurſion into this fertile and beautiful country; and am now beneath the hoſpitable roof of Doctor John Stephenſon, in the vicinity of Frederick Town, where

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where I have been entertained with that genuine hoſpitality which ſo remarkably characteriſes the *American Romulus* *.

On my return to the Ridge, I expect ſome material information relative to my particular ſituation; and have reaſon to believe that I am, before this, reduced to a private ſtation, and that one journey to Annapolis will ſettle my concerns as an officer under the ancient conſtitution; after which I ſhall, certainly, embrace the earlieſt opportunity of departing from the wretched ſcene of confuſion which this country, at preſent, exhibits.

Hunting Ridge, April 2.

We are, at length, ſuperceded in our department as commiſſioners of the Loan Office; but it is probable ſome time will elapſe before we ſhall obtain our final diſcharge, as the accounts and tranſactions

* See page 98.

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muſt undergo the inveſtigation of a committee of both houſes. I ſhall be extremely impatient for the concluſion of this buſineſs; after which I cannot entertain a doubt of procuring an immediate paſſport from America.

On the twenty-firſt of laſt month, a letter arrived from Sir Robert Eden, whoſe integrity and ſervices have procured him an honourable diſtinction. A prelude, let us hope, to more eſſential advantages.

On the ſame day which brought the above pleaſing intelligence, Mr. Thomas Johnſon was proclaimed governor of the State of Maryland: the cannon from the ramparts were diſcharged at the concluſion of the ceremony; the military were under arms, and the American ſtandard was hoiſted on the principal battery.

Every circumſtance tends to convince me, that I muſt quickly bid farewel to a coun-

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country, where I have experienced many benefits, and formed many valuable connexions. Could I obtain permiſſion to viſit New York in my way to Europe, I am certain I ſhould there meet with letters of the greateſt importance to my intereſt and happineſs. Influenced by that conſideration, I have applied for the neceſſary paſſport, to be granted immediately after the affairs of the Loan Office are finally adjuſted. I cannot ſay that I entertain any great hopes of ſucceſs; and moſt of my friends are of opinion, I ſhall meet a refuſal; in which caſe I muſt be content with a circuitous and expenſive paſſage by way of the Weſt Indies. Reduced as I am in my circumſtances, how I am to raiſe the neceſſary ſupply is a very ſerious conſideration; but I will not agitate my mind with the concerns of a future day. It is a proof of imbecility to—"ſhape the faſhion of uncertain evils."

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April 12.

My application for permiſſion to enter the Britiſh lines is poſitively rejected; I muſt therefore be content to take my paſſage by way of the French iſlands.

Annapolis, May 1.

I have taken my leave of Hunting Ridge, and truſt I am on the point of bidding farewel to Maryland. The concerns of the Loan Office will, I hope, be adjuſted in a few days; I have agreed for my paſſage in a veſſel bound from Alexandria in Virginia to Martinique, from which place I ſhall purſue the path which Providence may direct.

Annapolis, June 1.

The affairs of the Loan Office were cloſed but yeſterday; when my colleague and myſelf obtained a moſt ample and honourable diſcharge from that employment.

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The ſhip I propoſed ſailing in is yet at Alexandria, but her deſtination is changed, ſhe being ordered to Bourdeaux, and her departure uncertain.

Mr. D——, who was to have participated in my fortune, has taken his paſſage in an armed ſchooner, which, in my circumſtances, I do not conceive to be an eligible method; I ſhall therefore leave him to his chance, and purſue myſelf another courſe.

Mr. C—— ſets out this day for his delectable retirement on Hunting Ridge. When ſhall we meet again?—I moſt fervently hope he will be permitted to enjoy his humble retreat without fear of moleſtation: at all events he muſt be greatly embarraſſed to ſupport his numerous family with any degree of comfort. Indeed he will have full occaſion for the exertion of his utmoſt fortitude; but his

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eſtabliſhed character, and his manly, generous diſpoſition, muſt ſecure to him attention and reſpect, under every change of fortune.

Wedneſday, June 4.

Yeſterday I received my paſſport, and wait only the arrival of the poſt on Friday to determine my courſe. I have written to my friend Mr. C——, who is a member of congreſs, on the ſubject of obtaining permiſſion to enter the Britiſh lines; and have repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms I was able, "the peculiarity of my ſitua-
"tion, and my total incapacity to ſupport
"the heavy additional expenſe which muſt
"attend a voyage to Europe by way of
"the Iſlands: I have alſo urged domeſtic
"motives: in ſhort, I have ſuggeſted
"every reaſon which can induce compli-
"ance; I have even requeſted to be con-
"ſidered as a priſoner upon parole, and

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" have offered to remain in Philadelphia,
" or in ſome American poſt, until I can,
" by application to my friends in New
" York, obtain ſome perſon, in a civil ca-
" pacity, to be exchanged for me."

Should I ſucceed in this attempt, it is poſſible I may be relieved, in a few days, from a ſtate of inexpreſſible anxiety, by receiving intelligence reſpecting thoſe who occupy every thought; and whoſe intereſt and happineſs are the primary objects of my attention. If I fail, I muſt ſubmit to the diſappointment with fortitude, ſupported by the reflection, that I have directed my beſt efforts to the accompliſhment of my wiſhes; and that the failure has not proceeded from any neglect on my part, or any impropriety of conduct. At all events, on Saturday or Sunday, I ſhall ſet out for Philadelphia, or croſs the Cheſapeak, and proceed to an inlet on the eaſt-

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ern ſhore; from which I am informed, there are frequent opportunities of paſſing to the French iſlands.

I mentioned that we had obtained a moſt honourable diſcharge from our late provincial department, as I am well convinced it will be highly pleaſing to you to learn any circumſtance which reflects credit on my reputation, I give you the following extract from the report to both houſes.

"Your committee further take leave "to report that, from the multi- "plicity of buſineſs, the nature of "the truſt, and the care and re- "gularity of the tranſactions, they "are of opinion, that the commiſ- "ſioners and clerks annual ſalaries "have been very inadequate to the "ſervices they have rendered the "public."

Mr.

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Mr. D—— is in hourly expectation of the armed veſſel in which he has taken his paſſage for France; I mean to intruſt this packet to his care, and ſhould he be detained till Friday evening, I ſhall be able to inform you particularly what route I intend to purſue.

General Waſhington is ſaid to be in great force, and in poſſeſſion of a ſtrong country in the vicinity of Brunſwick; it is therefore probable, that ſome important event will ſpeedily happen, which may bring this fatal conteſt to a deciſive iſſue. It ſeems, however, to be a prevailing opinion, that Sir William Howe will find great difficulty in forcing his wary opponent to a general action, unleſs obvious advantages juſtify the meaſure.

Friday Even. June 6.

My fate is determined. Reaſonable as my requiſition appeared, it cannot poſſibly

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be complied with; I muſt therefore embrace the only means afforded me, under a perfect conviction of this great truth, that "Whatever is, is right."

Saturday Morn. June 7.

A more certain method offers than by way of the eaſtern ſhore. So far I appear ſucceſsful. Laſt night a veſſel arrived off Annapolis, bound to Cape François in Hiſpaniola, from whence, to Jamaica, the diſtance is not conſiderable. I have agreed with the maſter for my paſſage, and to-morrow we are to ſail for our deſtined port.

How ſtrange are the events of human life! I am now preparing to re-viſit the town of Kingſton, where I ſhall, poſſibly, meet ſome ancient friends for whom I ſtill cheriſh a grateful attachment.

I have

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Saturday Even.

I have taken leave of the few faithful friends ſtill reſiding in Annapolis. Perhaps a final one! It is a painful diſtreſſing idea! But I am haſtening to thoſe, my ſeparation from whom I have ſo long felt, and lamented. That thought will firmly ſupport me under every anxious trial it may be yet my fortune to encounter. I ſhall embark in a few minutes.—So will Mr. D——, as his veſſel is likewiſe in the harbour, and ready for ſea. Our projected route, though aiming at the ſame point, is widely different. I ſhall deliver this to his care. Should he accompliſh his paſſage, agreeable to his wiſhes, he muſt reach England long before I can poſſibly expect that happineſs. Adieu!——

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LETTER XXXV.

On board his Majeſty's Ship Emerald, Capes of Virginia, July 2, 1777.

AFTER encountering a variety of perplexing and vexatious circumſtances, I have been met with ſucceſs beyond my moſt ſanguine expectations. The moſt agreeable proſpects are opening to my view; and I ſhall ſpeedily obtain ample compenſation for thoſe various anxieties which have ſo long diſturbed my repoſe.

My laſt intimated that I had taken my paſſage from Maryland, in a veſſel bound to Cape François, in the iſland of Hiſpaniola. On the evening of the ſeventh of June, I took an affectionate leave of our few Annapolitan friends; and, I need not ſay, ſuch were my ſenſations on the occaſion,

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ſion, that I repaired on board the ſhip deſtined to convey me from that province, with a mind greatly diſtreſſed and agitated.

It would have evinced the utmoſt inſenſibility to have quitted without ſuch feel ngs, the ſcene of former happineſs and proſperity. I reflected on the obligations we had received; the benefits we had experienced, and the connexions we had formed. I could not reſiſt the united impreſſions excited by ſuch intereſting ideas; nor did I quit my penſive ſtation on the deck, while a ſingle object could be diſtinguiſhed that ſo forcibly reminded me of paſt felicity.

Soon as the day dawned on the eighth, we weighed anchor, and ſtood down the bay with a propitious gale. I found two gentlemen on board, proprietors of the veſſel and cargo; knowing them well, I promiſed myſelf great ſatisfaction from their ſociety,

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ſociety, and my expectations were completely gratified.

As we paſſed the mouth of Patuxent, I beheld, with emotions of gratitude, the hoſpitable manſion of our benevolent friend. Thoſe doors which ever opened with equal alacrity, to the weary traveller, and to the opulent gueſt, are now forſaken, even by the generous worthy owner!—The colonel, his lady and family, are retired into the interior country, that they may be further removed from the inevitable calamities of war.

Our paſſage down the bay was tedious; the winds proving variable. On Saturday the 14th, when we were ſtanding in for York River, in order to obtain information, and to avail ourſelves of a proper opportunity to proſecute our courſe, we deſcried a Britiſh ſhip in chaſe of an American ſloop. My ſenſations on this occaſion,

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ſion, were ſuch as I cannot poſſibly delineate; and I could ſcarce refrain expreſſing a wiſh, that the Engliſh colours were flying on our enſign ſtaff. The maſter of our veſſel, and my fellow paſſengers were, for ſome time, apprehenſive of danger; and I believe we were greatly indebted for our eſcape to ſome conſiderable ſhoals, which rendered the navigation extremely intricate and dangerous. Our captain being an expert ſeaman, profited by the advantages he poſſeſſed; and, in a ſhort time, we were ſafely at an anchor, oppoſite to the town of York, and cloſe beneath the ſtern of an American frigate.

My companions, though well inclined to government, expreſſed much ſatisfaction on finding themſelves ſecure within the limits of an American port, for had they been captured, notwithſtanding their ſentiments were loyal, their property would have

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have been juſtly forfeited, as they were attempting to ſupport an illicit commerce. To this meaſure they were, however, reduced by abſolute neceſſity; it was the only means they could poſſibly deviſe to quit their wretched country, without embarraſſing their friends and relatives, who were compelled, by unavoidable circumſtances, to continue in the province.

Theſe gentlemen finding the capes effectually guarded by ſeveral of his Majeſty's ſhips, and being, conſequently, convinced that it was impracticable to paſs them with any degree of ſafety, determined to remain in Virginia, until a more favourable opportunity preſented itſelf. This determination by no means accorded with my wiſhes. The leaſt detention appeared hoſtile to my happineſs; and under my peculiar circumſtances, if no motives of a ſuperior nature had operated, I could not

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not ſupport, without the greateſt inconvenience, the accumulated expence which unavoidably muſt have attended ſuch a meaſure. I therefore began to deviſe ſome proper method of abandoning a ſituation which threatened a tedious and painful obſtruction to the renewal of our domeſtic intercourſe.

Animated by ſuch conſiderations, I reſolved on an immediate application to the officer, who commanded the provincial troops in that diſtrict. To this gentleman I explained my particular ſituation, without the leaſt reſerve: the preſſing motives which required my immediate preſence in England: the diſappointment I had ſuſtained by the detention of our veſſel, and the advantages which would ariſe to me by a permiſſion to be put on board one of the Britiſh cruizers, from whence, by way of New York, I might obtain a ſpeedy conveyance

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veyance to my family and connexions in Europe. To corroborate aſſertions, founded on the ſtricteſt truth, I ſubmitted to his conſideration the paſſport which had been granted to me by the ruling powers in Maryland.

I was heard by this officer with candid attention, and the propriety of my plea was readily admitted—he could not conceive the neceſſity of waiting a diſtant opportunity, or of proſecuting my voyage by way of the Weſt Indies, therefore adviſed me to proceed immediately to Hampton, where ſome Virginian gentlemen, adherents to the former government, were on the point of embarking for New York, under the operation of an act of their legiſlature; and he was perſuaded, on an explicit repreſentation of my caſe, I ſhould not find any difficulty in being permitted to avail myſelf of the benefit of the flag, under the pro-

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protection of which those persons were preparing to quit the colony.

You will admit that I dispatched this important concern with becoming spirit and expedition, for on Monday the 16th, I exchanged reciprocal wishes with my Maryland friends, and left them to pursue fortune agreeably to the mode they had adopted.

About noon, the weather being intensely hot, I embarked in a small open boat for the place of my destination, which was about ten leagues nearer to the sea. The capes opened to our view a considerable time before we obtained sight of Hampton, and I anticipated the happiness I expected shortly to experience, by passing them on a more eligible plan than necessity had originally suggested. I fondly conceived that I had almost surmounted every difficulty, and could not avoid congratulating myself

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ſelf on the happy addreſs by which I had ſo fortunately converted an apparent diſappointment into ſuch real advantage. Supported by theſe ideas, I experienced but little inconvenience during ſeveral hours that I was confined in a very limited and expoſed ſituation; and ſcarcely had I reached my deſired harbour, where a new ſcene of operations was to commence, before a tremendous gale aroſe, which raged for ſeveral hours with incredible violence, and threatened inevitable deſtruction to thoſe who were expoſed to its fury. Perhaps I was wrong: but I could not avoid drawing the moſt favourable concluſions from this dreadful elementary war: I conſidered my eſcape as an undoubted prelude to future proſperity; and I experienced a confidence in my mind which led me boldly forward to the completion of my arduous deſign. But ſcarce had I landed on the beach ere I experienced a diſappointment which

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which overthrew all my late hopes. Thoſe gentlemen, in whoſe fortune I truſted to have participated, and for which purpoſe I had ſtrained my utmoſt abilities, and hazarded the moſt imminent danger, were embarked the preceding evening, and left melancholy impreſſions on the minds of their friends, on account of the ſudden, and violent tempeſt *.

How to extricate myſelf from the difficulties which now ſurrounded me I knew not. I was in a place where I had not the ſlighteſt connexion; and where the appearance of a ſtranger was a ſufficient motive to excite ſuſpicion. Time, however, was precious: I therefore determined not to loſe a moment. It was generally known in Maryland that I had taken my paſſage by way of the iſlands; and it was poſſible I might

* The author had the ſatisfaction to learn, on his arrival at New York, that they had ſafely accompliſhed their paſſage.

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meet ſome perſon from that province, who would throw inſurmountable obſtacles in my way, by repreſenting my intentions in an unfavourable point of view. Agitated by ſuch apprehenſions, and encouraged by the ſucceſs which had attended my application at York Town, I waited inſtantly on the commanding officer, and, aſſuming a confidence neceſſary in my ſituation, intimated the circumſtances of my diſappointment, by the neceſſity of taking ſhelter in York River; the motives which had brought me to that place, in conſequence of it, and the inexpreſſible mortification I had experienced by arriving too late to avail myſelf of ſo favourable an opportunity. I therefore entreated that he would facilitate a re-union with my family and connexions, by granting me the indulgence of a flag, under the conduct of which I might obtain a temporary ſituation on board one of the Britiſh ſhips ſtationed in

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in the vicinity of the capes, until an opportunity offered to convey me to ſome port, from whence I might find a ready paſſage to England.

From the commencement of the war, I had eſtabliſhed it as a fixed principle, that they who were actually engaged in hoſtile oppoſition, were directed by more liberal ſentiments than thoſe inflammatory demagogues, who had ariſen to eminence by fomenting diſcontents, and taking a diſtinguiſhed lead in popular aſſemblies; and experience, on various occaſions, has fully confirmed the truth of this obſervation.

In Hampton, fortunately for me, all public affairs were under military direction: the perſon who commanded, attended with complacency to my application; and expreſſed an earneſt ſollicitude to render

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me every poſſible ſervice conſiſtent with his duty.

On the following day (the 17th) this buſineſs was more fully inveſtigated in preſence of the officer who directed the marine department; and, on my delivering the paſſport, which had been granted for my departure from Maryland, no reaſons appeared to operate againſt compliance with my requeſt; therefore to my inexpreſſible joy, leave was immediately granted to engage a veſſel for my paſſage, and a gentleman was deputed to attend me with a flag, as ſoon as I gave intimation that I was ready for my departure.

Favourable as appearances now were, it was my fate ſtill to encounter diſappointment: I found infinite difficulty in procuring a boat, from a ſettled perſuaſion that, notwithſtanding a flag was granted, it was dangerous to rely on that privilege.

Every

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Every hour's delay increaſed my diſquietude; yet it was not until about noon on the 20th, that I was able to accompliſh my purpoſe.

When the neceſſary arrangements for our departure were made, I rendered my grateful acknowledgments where they were ſo juſtly due, and, accompanied by the officer who was appointed to conduct me, repaired to the landing place, where a veſſel was waiting for our reception. Unfortunately at that critical period, the wind freſhened to a perfect gale; the ſea run high, and my companion, from an apprehenſion of danger, intimated his reſolution to poſtpone the undertaking till the weather was more moderate. It was in vain that I urged every motive to alter his determination; my beſt arguments were ineffectual; and, with inexpreſſible reluctance, I was obliged to relinquiſh my

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deſign, and wait the event of the enſuing day.

Anxious with reſpect to the great concern which occupied my mind, a ſhort time before ſunſet I repaired to the harbour, to gain information relative to the ſtate of the weather, and the probable time when it might be adviſeable to reſume our undertaking. The perſon, whoſe ſchooner I had engaged, comforted me with the moſt favourable intelligence, and adviſed me to be on board by the dawn of day, that advantage might be derived from the land breeze, which generally prevailed at that ſeaſon of the year, till the ſun had attained a conſiderable height above the horizon. With alacrity I haſtened to communicate theſe particulars to the officer who had been appointed to attend me, when I received intelligence which diſconcerted every plan, and preſented to my de-

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jected view, a gloomy proſpect of inſurmountable difficulties. In ſhort, he informed me, that the battalion then quartered in Hampton, had that inſtant received orders to march, early on the following morning, to join the grand army under command of General Waſhington; and that conſequently he could not gratify his own feelings by forwarding my intentions of quitting America.

This intimation, ſo ſudden, ſo unexpected, affected my mind in the moſt ſenſible manner. The officer to whom I had delivered my paſſport, had already taken his departure, and though I could obtain evidence that I had been in poſſeſſion of ſuch a credential, yet I might have to negotiate with people of a leſs liberal and more ſuſpicious nature. Part of another regiment was hourly expected, to the commanding officer of which I ſhould be ne-

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ceſſitated to renew my application. Delay, in every point of view, being replete with danger, I haſtened back to the wharf, and candidly acquainted the maſter of the veſſel with the foregoing circumſtances, reminding him that, as a full authority ſtill exiſted for his receiving me on board, he could not poſſibly incur any cenſure by the proſecution of our deſign, as ſoon as the favourable moment offered to proceed on our deſtined courſe.

My arguments, though ſtrongly urged, did not appear to produce conviction; he conceived a flag was abſolutely requiſite to protect him from being captured; and that by venturing to conduct me without that ſecurity, he might entail ruin on himſelf and family. I attempted to combat his objections, by alleging, that the very circumſtance of conveying a Britiſh ſubject, who had undoubted credentials to

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ſecure the moſt favourable reception, would effectually prevent any conſequences prejudicial to his ſafety or his intereſt. I remonſtrated to the wind; he appeared inflexibly determined; and it was, with the utmoſt difficulty, that at length I perſuaded him to reflect maturely on the reaſons I had advanced, and to give me, within two hours, his ultimate reſolution.

You will readily conceive the agitation of my mind during this painful interval, eſpecially as a hint had been given me, that the officer who commanded the gallies, and who, on repeated occaſions, had approved himſelf a zealous partizan, had, in the courſe of the day, intimated an alteration of ſentiment, relative to the meaſures neceſſary to be purſued, previous to my departure from the colony. This officer ſeemed to apprehend an application ought to be made, on my part, to the legiſlative

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lative authority; and that the permiſſion which had been granted was inſufficient, without the ſanction of the civil power. A journey to Williamſburgh muſt have been the conſequence of ſuch an opinion being adopted; and, perhaps, even then, on repreſenting my ſituation to the Council of Safety in that city, it might have been thought expedient to apply to the government of Maryland, for authentic documents to corroborate my aſſertions. Such a proceeding muſt, inevitably, have been attended with a tedious delay, and with increaſed expence; not to mention the ſtrong probability, that a poſitive prohibition would have been the conſequence of ſuch a reference.

Under theſe peculiar circumſtances it was abſolutely neceſſary that I ſhould appear perfectly collected, in order to remove all ſuſpicion of my purſuing indirect meaſures

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to accompliſh my purpoſe. I therefore joined a party, with whom I had occaſionally aſſociated ſince my reſidence in Hampton, and diſcuſſed with them the circumſtance of the ſudden departure of the battalion, and the objections unexpectedly ſtarted by the maſter of the veſſel, againſt receiving me without the formality of a flag. I acquainted them, that an officer had accompanied me to the wharf, who had avowed his authority to be my conductor, but was prevented from executing his commiſſion by a ſudden violent gale, which had impreſſed his mind with apprehenſion of danger; therefore, conceiving the maſter fully juſtified in proceeding on the permiſſion already granted, I requeſted the ſentiments of thoſe gentlemen with reſpect to the conduct neceſſary to be adopted for his entire ſatisfaction.

I was

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I was heard with the moſt obliging attention, and it appeared to be their unanimous opinion, that I had complied with every requiſite; that I was not actuated by any hoſtile intentions againſt America; that I had an undoubted right to avail myſelf of the moſt immediate opportunity to obtain a paſſage to Europe; and that the maſter of the ſchooner, who had been publicly engaged to convey me on board a Britiſh ſhip, could not poſſibly be ſubjected to any cenſure by the civil authority in Virginia; nor would he encounter any hazard with regard to the detention of his perſon and property, by the officers and ſeamen in his Majeſty's ſervice.

Though I was happy in hearing ſentiments ſo perfectly agreeable to my wiſhes, yet I experienced much agitation, leſt they might not prove effectual where it was immediately neceſſary they ſhould be attended to; and

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and a conſiderable time elapſed, beyond the limited period, before I received intimation that the party in queſtion had made enquiry for me.

In an inſtant I determined to make this tranſaction a public concern, and to receive his determination in preſence of thoſe who had ſo kindly evinced a ſolicitude for my welfare: he was therefore requeſted to enter the room, and to deliver his opinion without reſerve.

The undiſguiſed conduct which I aſſumed on this very intereſting occaſion, inſtantly operated in my favour. The maſter expreſſed his doubts in a leſs forcible manner; and they were anſwered by perſons totally unconnected with my views, with whom he was well acquainted, and who could not poſſibly be governed by any motives prejudicial to his welfare or reputation. The event more than anſwered my

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my expectations: the arguments adduced on my behalf; the perſons by whom they were delivered; and the open manner in which I had ſubmitted to inveſtigation, carried conviction to his mind; he engaged to receive me without any further application, and promiſed to be ready for me by the earlieſt dawn.

It was late before I retired to my apartment, and then without the leaſt propenſity to partake of reſt: I threw myſelf on the bed, and yielded to a ſucceſſive train of gloomy apprehenſions. Indeed my ſituation was extremely intricate: early in the evening I had ſeen two perſons, whom I knew to be reſidents in Annapolis; I had endeavoured to avoid them, but perceiving myſelf diſcovered, I aſſumed an air of confidence, accoſted them with apparent compoſure, and enquired after the welfare of ſeveral, with whom I had been happily con-

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connected in better times. They knew I had taken my departure for the Weſt Indies, and appeared inquiſitive concerning the motives which had occaſioned my continuance on the continent. In brief terms I intimated the diſappointment we had encountered, and the neceſſity of awaiting a more favourable opportunity; that the veſſel was ſtill lying in York River, and that I had been led into that neighbourhood on a viſit of friendſhip and curioſity.

Though my detail appeared to gain credit, I had ſome reaſon to conceive, that they entertained ſuſpicions of my real deſign, which they might conſequently attempt to fruſtrate, by immediate meaſures to my diſadvantage. However I had ſufficient reſolution to invite them to my quarters, and obtained a ready aſſurance that they would ſee me early on the enſuing

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ſuing day, to receive my commands for Maryland.

This event was an additional motive to urge diſpatch; and it alſo pointed out the method neceſſary to purſue, if I found the maſter of the veſſel inflexible to my arguments: I determined, in that caſe, to receive my unwelcome viſitors with an appearance of ſatisfaction, and if they were returning to Annapolis, by way of York Town, even offer to accompany them to that place, as to the proper ſituation where I was awaiting an opportunity to proceed for the ocean.

Having, after our ſeparation, ſucceeded in my plan of engaging an immediate conveyance to the neareſt Britiſh ſhip, I well knew that the attempt, without ſucceſs, would expoſe me to dangers and difficulties of the moſt alarming nature. My new found acquaintance might be more early in their

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their enquiries, than was consistent with the plan I had adopted. On learning that I had amused them with a fallacious account, an alarm might be instantly given, which might occasion a pursuit; and a contrary wind, or bad sailing, might throw me into the power of those who would put the most unfavourable construction on my conduct; and perhaps punish me with a rigour by no means proportioned to the nature of the supposed offence. These painful ideas occupied my mind till the appearance of day. I was to receive notice when the proper period arrived for embarkation; and I waited the summons, with equal impatience and anxiety. My baggage, which was contained in a small portmanteau, had been on board the vessel from the time I had engaged her for my passage; and two or three trifling articles which I had retained on shore, were the whole of my incumbrance. About

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half paſt four, a lad arrived, with intelligence that all was ready for my reception. I delivered my parcel to his care and accompanied him to the adjacent beach, under no ſmall agitation of mind, which it was highly incumbent on me to conceal, by a ſteady appearance of confidence and ſerenity.

For the preſent I lay down my pen, but ſhall reſume it by every convenient opportunity. Situated as I now am, I have full time to be circumſtantial in my detail; an indifferent perſon might accuſe me of prolixity, but I am perſuaded you experience a real concern in whatever relates to my intereſt or happineſs. Farewel!

LETTER

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LETTER XXXVI.

On board the Emerald, July 3d, 1777.

THE ſchooner, deſtined for my conveyance, was navigated by an elderly man, and by a youth about fourteen years of age. With a view to guard againſt accidents, and to animate my companions to perſeverance, I had laid in a ſupply of refreſhments for a voyage much longer than ours promiſed to be, and we quitted the harbour with a favourable breeze, and the moſt pleaſing proſpect of an expeditious paſſage.

We had not proceeded far on our courſe, before our attention was divided by the ſight of two Britiſh frigates. One was ſtationed in the vicinity of the capes; and

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the other at ſome diſtance up the bay, in a ſituation to obſerve the movements in York River. The former veſſel being nearer to the ſea, appeared moſt eligible for my deſign, and to that we directed our courſe accordingly: but ſcarce had we digeſted our plan, when the wind ſuddenly ſubſided, and a total calm ſucceeded, during the continuance of which we were unable to make the leaſt progreſs: about noon, a ſtrong breeze ſet in directly oppoſite to our wiſhes; we made many tacks, without ſeeming to obtain the leaſt advantage; and though, under this diſappointment, I ſuffered extreme agitation, yet had I reſolution to affect a perfect ſerenity, that I might not increaſe ſuſpicions in the mind of my conductor, who could not avoid occaſionally intimating his apprehenſions, that he encountered a conſiderable hazard in the undertaking.

It

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It is impoſſible to paint the diſtreſs that took poſſeſſion of my ſoul, when the impracticability of reaching the ſhip, at leaſt that evening, was announced in the moſt decided terms. A ſtrong head-ſea operated equally with the wind to baffle our beſt attempts; the maſter, therefore, propoſed to return into the harbour, and patiently await the event of the ſucceeding day. To this meaſure I ſtrongly objected, and recommended altering our courſe for the other veſſel, which I conceived we could eaſily attain before the approach of night; but was exceedingly mortified to hear him explicitly diſſent from my opinion; when no choice was left me but to return to an anchor, in order to take the advantage of a more favourable opportunity.

This determination, ſo cruelly adverſe to my hopes, rendered me almoſt frantic

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with apprehenſion. I recollected my Annapolitan acquaintance, and the probability that they had excited an alarm, on account of the deception I had practiſed, from unavoidable neceſſity. I had alſo reaſon to entertain ideas of dangers and difficulties from every other quarter, and I knew not how to ſtem the torrent of adverſity which appeared ready to overwhelm me. We were now before the wind, ſtanding directly for the harbour, to which we were advancing with a very rapid progreſs: one expedient only remained, which a ſudden thought ſuggeſted: I had plied my old pilot as freely with the bottle, as was not inconſiſtent with our ſafety; and he evidently diſcovered, in conſequence of it, a greater pliability of diſpoſition. I availed myſelf of the important criſis, and under the plauſible pretext of ſaving time, and being more ready to catch the firſt breath of a propitious breeze, I propoſed running under

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under a cliff to leeward of the town, where the riding was perfectly convenient; and where I truſted we might remain undiſcovered, till we could again, with propriety, reſume our arduous undertaking.

To my infinite ſatisfaction, and, indeed, equal ſurpriſe, my plan received his immediate, and entire approbation: we were quickly at an anchor behind a point of land, which entirely ſheltered us from the view of the adjacent harbour; our little veſſel was ſoon properly ſecured; the day cloſed with perfect ſerenity; and the veteran ſeaman and his boy, after partaking of ſuch cheer as our ſtock afforded, calmly reſigned themſelves to repoſe, without an anxious idea reſpecting the operations of the enſuing day.

Contraſted with mine, their ſituation was indeed moſt enviable—agitated by conflicting paſſions! by a continued ſeries of

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diſappointments, I tamely yielded to the preſſure of calamity! and even dreaded the return of day, which was to expoſe me to new trials, and probably to additional mortifications: I weakly anticipated a train of impending evils, which I conſidered as unavoidable.

The night was uncommonly ſplendid. The beams of the riſing moon were beautifully reflected on the noble expanſe of water. Nature appeared perfectly ſerene; and every ſurrounding object contributed to elevate the imagination above terreſtrial objects; to infuſe a calm indifference with regard to ſublunary events; and to ſuggeſt a firm confidence, in the great, beneficent Creator! Yet, harraſſed by the corroding reflections which inceſſantly intruded, I became inſenſible to all that could dignify the mind; the delightful proſpect became a dreary waſte; and I no longer

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longer recollected the providential deliverances I had ſo frequently, and ſo unexpectedly experienced.

I attempted, but in vain, to compoſe myſelf, and to obtain that reſt ſo eſſential to recruit my agitated ſpirits, for the tranſactions of the approaching morning: but every effort was ineffectual, I therefore determined to occupy the tedious interval by an excurſion on the adjacent ſhore. Our veſſel lay almoſt cloſe to the beach, and a ſmall canoe, which was faſtened to our ſtern, enabled me, in an inſtant, to gratify my inclination. My comrades, exempt from every anxiety, were in perfect enjoyment of the moſt ſound repoſe; and I landed, without their being ſenſible of the intention I had formed. By this time, the moon had nearly attained her meridian height; the hemiſphere was decorated with unnumbered ſtars,

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ſtars, and not an intervening cloud appeared, to obſtruct the view. I had attained a conſiderable eminence, at no remote diſtance from the place of our anchorage; and from that ſituation, I could plainly diſtinguiſh the town of Hampton; ſeveral veſſels lying at the mouth of the harbour; an unlimited proſpect of the Cheſapeak; and, juſt riſing above the horiſon, the Britiſh frigate, the object of my moſt ardent hopes! Such a grand aſſemblage of intereſting objects gradually diſſipated the gloom which hung over me; a returning ray of confidence took full poſſeſſion of my ſoul; the eventful circumſtances of my preceding days, paſſed rapidly in review before my imagination; I yielded to an inſtantaneous impulſe I found myſelf unable to reſiſt, and proſtrate on the ſhore, acknowledged the imbecility of human nature, and implored the

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the all-merciful Providence to ſupport me, under every future viciſſitude, and direct my wandering ſteps to the paths of peace and ſafety.

Supported and elevated by hope, I deſcended, like a new being, to the adjacent beach, and haſtened along the ſhore to prepare for the enſuing enterprize. Scarce had I reached the veſſel, before the welcome dawn, and a riſing favourable breeze, intimated the expediency of commencing our operations. I awakened my companions, and apprized them of the promiſing gale:—in an inſtant we were under way, and ſtood, with a pleaſing proſpect of ſucceſs, for the frigate, which, during the preceding day, had been the earneſt object of our attention.

I now began to conceive, that fortune, weary of perſecuting me, was determined

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to make ample compenſation for the mortification and diſquietude I had ſuſtained; but I was deſtined to encounter yet further trials, under circumſtances of more imminent danger.

When we were within two leagues of the ſhip, and at the moment that I was anticipating the happineſs which awaited me, the breeze ſuddenly headed us, and quickly freſhened to a perfect gale. Our ſchooner, unfortunately, was foul; her ſails and rigging in bad condition; and we had, in the courſe of our former attempt, fully experienced her inability to work to windward. In this dilemma, a conſultation took place, the reſult of which was, a determination to change our courſe, for the ſhip which was ſtationed up the bay; and the maſter gave me great hopes that we ſhould carry our point, without much difficulty, if the wind continued ſteady in its preſent

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preſent quarter. To animate his exertions, and attach him more ſtrongly to my intereſt, I promiſed a handſome augmentation to our ſtipulated agreement; and in return, he aſſured me, that he would perſevere to the utmoſt, and at all events not ſhelter in any harbour, unleſs abſolute neceſſity enforced him.

We had ſtill ſerious embarraſſments to encounter. A heavy croſs ſea greatly impeded our progreſs, and frequently broke over the deck in an alarming manner. The wind alſo became ſcant, and we barely lay our courſe. Hope, however, was predominant; I found we gradually gained on our object; my comrades appeared confident of ſucceſs; and I had a firm perſuaſion that our expectations would be effectually gratified. Thus circumſtanced, I reſolved, if poſſible, to obtain a ſhort repoſe; the agitation of my mind, and the extreme

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extreme fatigue I had experienced, had totally exhauſted nature; I therefore ſummoned reſolution to retire to my birth, having previouſly given directions to be awakened before our arrival at the ſhip; or if any unforeſeen event ſhould take place, which might require my attention or aſſiſtance.

It was about ten in the forenoon, when I threw myſelf on my pillow, and in a few minutes every anxious idea was obliterated by a profound ſleep; but ſcarce an hour had elapſed before I was alarmed by a ſummons upon deck, and in a tone which inſtantly filled my mind with a dread of impending evil. I ſprung inſtantly from my cot, and in a moment was too perfectly convinced, that I had the ſtrongeſt reaſons to apprehend the moſt diſagreeable conſequences. We plainly deſcried an armed ſchooner, ſtretching from the land, with

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an evident intention to intercept our paſſage to the ſhip, from which we were at that time, about two miles diſtant; and as ſhe gained rapidly upon us, I began to abandon that confidence which had ſo recently taken poſſeſſion of my breaſt.

Notwithſtanding the depreſſion which almoſt overpowered my faculties, I aſſumed ſufficient reſolution to animate my companions, which I ſeconded, by promiſes of greater efficacy, than the force of the moſt eloquent perſuaſions; and the wind veering a point or two in our favour, to my inexpreſſible joy, we were within hail of the ſhip, when the American veſſel was alſo within random ſhot, where ſhe lay to, in order to watch our motions, and take her meaſures accordingly.

At this critical period it blew a freſh of wind, accompanied with a heavy ſwell of the ſea; notwithſtanding which, we run

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along-ſide the frigate with tolerable dexterity; but in attempting to catch a rope, which was flung from the deck, the boy had nearly fallen overboard, and before another could be thrown for our aſſiſtance, we had, in ſpite of every effort, fallen to leeward with aſtoniſhing rapidity. On a ſuſpicion that we had acted by deſign, an officer directed us immediately to bring to, in a manner ſo commanding that we apprehended a ſhot would be immediately fired to force compliance. Obedience was only left us; but under our circumſtances, obedience was attended with infinite danger; our anchor, though ſufficient in ſmooth water, was by no means adapted for the preſent occaſion, nor was the cable in a condition to bear the violent motion and working of the veſſel; in ſeveral places it was greatly defective, and in its beſt ſtate, was only intended for harbours, and occaſional mooring places along the

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the ſhore: neceſſity enforced ſubmiſſion; the anchor was let go, and for ſome moments I indulged hope, that a boat would be manned, and ſent from the ſhip, to learn the motives which had brought us into that perilous ſituation; but in that hope, ſo reaſonably founded, I had quickly the mortification to experience a diſappointment, we being again hailed, in an authoritative manner, and directed to ſend on board immediately.

Situated as we were, it was in vain to attempt repreſenting the particulars which gave me a right to expect aſſiſtance and protection: we were unfortunately unprovided with a ſpeaking trumpet, and the wind ſetting directly againſt us, it was impoſſible for the voice alone, at the diſtance we were from each other, to convey an articulate ſound. Our canoe was of the ſmalleſt dimenſions, and could not,

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even in the moſt ſerene weather, contain more than one perſon, with any degree of ſafety; tempeſtuous as it then was, the moſt imminent danger awaited the attempt; to deliberate was, at leaſt, encountering equal hazard: ſhould the veſſel drift, it might be thought intentional, and a ſhot might be attended with fatal effects. I therefore entreated the maſter to undertake alone, without a moment's delay, the arduous enterpriſe, while I continued with his ſervant, to render him every aſſiſtance in my power.

Whoſe ſituation was moſt critical, I am utterly unable to determine: ſcarcely had the canoe put off, before we became ſenſible that our veſſel dragged upon the anchor, which induced my young aſſociate to expreſs the ſtrongeſt fears, that our cable could not poſſibly long hold out; in which caſe, the leaſt evil which threatened me

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was a tedious, and probably a rigid imprisonment, as the armed schooner continued lying-to, at no remote distance, and in a very short time we must have drifted so far to leeward, that she would have taken us, even within random shot of that vessel to which I fled for refuge.

Under circumstances so peculiarly distressing, I anxiously attended to the motions of the canoe. The veteran seaman acquitted himself with the utmost dexterity. Sometimes, from the height of the sea, he was totally lost to view, which excited a momentary sensation of the most painful nature; but when I saw him rise with a rising wave, hope in consequence exhilarated my spirits. Though the distance was not far, near an hour elapsed, before I beheld him ascending the side of the ship, every minute of which time, in my peculiar situation, appeared insupportably

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tedious. Meanwhile our little bark continued to pitch with great violence, and I was under continual apprehenſions, that the ſtrands of our weak cable muſt, inevitably, yield to ſuch exceſſive motion. Gueſs then my tranſport, when I heard the welcome ſignal given for hoiſting out a boat. My eyes were rivetted on an object which promiſed a ſpeedy and effectual relief. I ſaw her launch from the ſhip, with all the wild enthuſiaſm of joy! and in a few minutes I had the inexpreſſible happineſs to take an officer by the hand, who delivered a friendly meſſage from his commander, with an obliging invitation to partake of every accommodation his ſituation could afford.

Thus much ſhall ſuffice for the employment of the preſent day; but I ſhall quickly reſume the pen, that I may conclude a nar-

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narrative which, I am perſuaded, you will conſider intereſting and eventful.

LETTER XXXVII.

Emerald, July 5, 1777.

THE officer who had it in charge to convey me on board his Majeſty's ſhip, acquainted me that ſhe was named the Thames, and was commanded by Captain Tyringham Howe, who had ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the defence of the Glaſgow, when ſhe engaged the American fleet, under the direction of Commodore Hopkins.

Againſt a force ſo wonderfully ſuperior, he maintained an animated conteſt; and, in ſpite of their utmoſt exertions, effected

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a gallant retreat into the harbour at Rhode Iſland. For his ſteady and intrepid conduct, he was rewarded by a promotion into his preſent ſhip, which, I truſt, will be only a prelude to ſome more honourable diſtinction.

By Captain Howe I was received with a cordiality which exceeded my utmoſt expectations. I gave him a brief detail of the events which had ſo happily terminated in placing me under his generous protection; and I entreated that he would render every aſſiſtance to the maſter of the ſchooner, by whoſe zealous and determined efforts I had accompliſhed an eſcape, which opened the proſpect of a ſpeedy reſtoration to the bleſſings of domeſtic ſociety.

In conſequence of my requiſition, immediate orders were given to ſecure his veſſel beneath the ſtern of the frigate; and my

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my old pilot, with his faithful adherent, was received on board with assurances of every accommodation, until a favourable opportunity presented itself of prosecuting their intentions with entire safety.

In about an hour after my arrival I sat down with Captain H——, and several officers, to a plain but plentiful dinner; I experienced sensations I had long been unaccustomed to—my mind was exhilarated with joy and gratitude—I acknowledged the intervention of an all-directing Providence—and I enjoyed a rapid succession of these delightful ideas, which indicated a reverse of fortune, and an ample compensation for past solicitudes.

On my name being occasionally mentioned, it caught the attention of the first lieutenant, who, to my great astonishment, discovered a knowledge of my former situation. He particularly enquired concern-

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ing the welfare of my deareſt wife and ſon, and aſſured me, with uncommon warmth, that every gentleman belonging to that ſhip had, even previous to the hope of any perſonal acquaintance, conceived ſentiments highly advantageous to my character and my principles. Perceiving every countenance bore convincing teſtimony to the truth of ſuch pleaſing aſſertions, I was loſt in amazement; and could not penetrate into the myſtery which had ſo ſtrangely ſecured to me the approbation and eſteem of perſons to whom I conceived I was totally unknown. I therefore entreated an immediate explanation, that I might learn how to render my grateful acknowledgments, and to approve myſelf deſerving ſuch an unexpected prepoſſeſſion in my behalf.

Mr. R——, the gentleman who had ſo kindly expreſſed himſelf in my favour, then

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then acquainted me that "a few weeks "since, the Thames had taken an Ame- "rican veſſel bound to a French iſland, on "board of which were a number of let- "ters, which had been examined, with a "view to obtain information; that in per- "forming this duty they had met with "two under my ſignature, which had im- "preſſed them ſo ſtrongly in my behalf, "that it was reſolved to retain them till "an opportunity offered for their ſafe con- "veyance. Accordingly on the arrival of "the ſhip at New York, they had been "intruſted to the care of a German offi- "cer, with particular injunctions to de- "liver them immediately on the comple- "tion of his voyage *."—Mr. R—— concluded by obſerving that, "the inſtant

* Mr. R—— incloſed the intercepted letters, in a very elegant and expreſſive epiſtle from himſelf; and they were punctually delivered. The author is, at this time, happy in including Captain R—— amongſt his beſt and moſt valuable friends.

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my name was mentioned, he entertained sanguine hopes that I was the person in whose cause they had been so strongly interested; and on finding those hopes so agreeably confirmed, he was persuaded every gentleman on board that ship rejoiced in the unexpected opportunity of affording protection and assistance, where attachment operated so forcibly with duty to command their best exertions.

Had I not instantly conceived sentiments of regard for this worthy man, I must have been insensible to every generous, every grateful impression.—I beheld him with a mixture of reverence and love —and tears—heart-felt tears—proclaimed the genuine, the fervent acknowledgments of my soul.

On board the Thames I continued until the 27th, experiencing from Captain H— and the gentlemen under his command, the

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the moſt obliging attention and hoſpitality. But that ſhip being ſtationed a conſiderable diſtance up the bay, I became anxious for a removal into the Emerald, which lay in the vicinity of the capes, whoſe commander conſequently had it more in his power to forward the intentions of thoſe whoſe circumſtances rendered it expedient to viſit the city of New York.

Accordingly on the above day, an officer in an armed veſſel having arrived on ſome duty from the commodore, I determined to embrace the opportunity of his return, that I might obtain a ſituation nearer to the object of my hopes.

It was with difficulty I obtained the conſent of Captain H——, and his benevolent officers, to this neceſſary meaſure. They ſuggeſted the probability of being ſpeedily relieved, and the pleaſure they ſhould receive in conveying me to my deſired

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ſired haven. Though I felt the full force of ſuch perſuaſions, yet I combated their friendly arguments with reaſons ſo juſtly founded, that my hoſpitable protectors yielded reluctantly to their force; and with their ſincere prayers for the completion of all my purſuits, I bade them farewell; and early on the following day, was received on board the Emerald with great attention and politeneſs.

I have now brought you to my preſent ſituation, where I experience every proof of regard and humanity. Since the commencement of this conteſt, I have repeatedly heard it aſſerted, that the commanders of his Majeſty's ſhips conſider protection rather as an act of neceſſity than inclination; and that thoſe loyaliſts who had, with infinite hazard, effected an eſcape from the adverſe party, had been treated by them, on application for refuge, with a diſ-

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a diſtance and haughtineſs, that aggravated their ſufferings, and almoſt alienated their ſentiments of allegiance. I verily believe the aſſertion, in every inſtance, moſt unjuſtly founded; propagated by malice, and by republican artifice. On board the Emerald are ſeveral gentlemen under ſimilar circumſtances with myſelf; all equally ſtrangers to our benefactors, we are all equally treated as friends and brethren. Captain Caldwell, who is the commodore on the ſtation, is continually gaining on our eſteem by the affability of his manners; his officers appear no leſs anxious to promote our entire ſatisfaction; and we meet with every accommodation our ſituation can poſſibly obtain. But kindly and humanely treated as I am, happineſs is not yet my portion; my thoughts are anxiouſly turned towards you and our deareſt boy, and I conſider every hour a tedious delay, till I obtain information of your health and wel-

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welfare. Your letters will probably determine my future conduct. I truſt I ſhall ſoon rejoin you in England; or by a pleaſing change in the political ſyſtem, be enabled once more to bid you welcome to the continent of America. May heaven grant us a ſpeedy re-union; and may we paſs the reſidue of our days, without again experiencing the inſupportable anxiety of ſeparation.

New York, July 19, 1777.

I have only a few minutes to inform you, that yeſterday I was ſafely landed in this city, and met with the moſt cordial reception from our invaluable friends.

I found but one letter from my deareſt wife, dated on the 26th of April, and 1ſt of May laſt. On obtaining intelligence of your welfare, my joy was inexpreſſible. More than ſixteen tedious months had elapſed,

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elapſed, ſince the date of your laſt: many of your epiſtles have undoubtedly miſcarried: mine to you, I truſt, have been more fortunate. During the remainder of our ſeparation, our correſpondence will be certain. I am now free, unawed, unreſtrained.—I feel myſelf enlarged; and I will write, ſpeak, and act, as becomes a zealous adherent to the Britiſh conſtitution.

In my next I will give you the particulars of my expedition hither; of my preſent ſituation; and probably ſome idea of my future intentions; but as the ſhip which is to convey this is preparing to ſail, I muſt poſtpone further information.

Opportunities of writing from this place very frequently offer: expect therefore to hear from me again ſpeedily. My voluminous detail will be delivered to you by Mr. S——, a worthy young man, and a refugee

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refugee from Maryland. To him I refer you for an account of your friends in that province, which he quitted but a few days ſince.—Adieu.

LETTER XXXVIII.

New York, Aug. 1, 1777.

MY laſt contained a circumſtantial detail from the day of my quitting Maryland, to that of my reception on board the Emerald frigate. I ſhall now continue my narrative to the time of my arrival in this city.

On the tenth of July, at day break, ſeveral veſſels were diſtinguiſhed, which had paſſed us by favour of the night, and were ſtretching to the eaſtward with a croud of canvas. In an inſtant we weighed anchor, and ſtood out to ſea. The Senegal

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negal ſloop of war, and an armed brig, that were ſtationed off Cape Charles, joined us in the chace; and before noon we took three large ſloops and two ſchooners laden with tobacco, flour, and various valuable commodities for the French iſlands.

The capture of theſe veſſels was a fortunate event to me, and to thoſe who were under ſimilar circumſtances, it being determined to ſend the prizes immediately to New York, under convoy of the Senegal, commanded by Captain Molloy.

On Friday the eleventh, Captain C—— introduced two gentlemen, who had eſcaped from Virginia, and myſelf, to the commander of the Senegal, and recommended us ſtrongly to his kind attention. On board this ſhip we experienced every proof of hoſpitality and regard during the paſſage to New York, where, on the 18th, we were ſafely landed.

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On entering the Narrows, my mind was forcibly ſtruck with the ſplendid appearance of a numerous, and formidable equipment. A grand fleet, attended with innumerable tranſports, arranged in their ſeveral diviſions, lay at anchor off Staten Iſland. The iſland itſelf was covered with troops ready for embarcation, and every appearance indicated an expedition of the moſt deciſive conſequence. I could not avoid contemplating, with aſtoniſhment, the power—the apparently irreſiſtable power—of the parent ſtate; and, in conſequence, equal aſtoniſhment took poſſeſſion of my mind, when I reflected how ineffectual, to every ſalutary purpoſe, the moſt determined efforts had hitherto been.

Mr. and Mrs. C—— inſiſt on my ſojourning beneath their friendly roof, until ſome plan is adopted for a permanent ſitu-

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ation; and expreſs their regret, that unavoidable events have ſo long detained me from experiencing their humanity and affection.

Mr. C—— is no longer Commiſſary General, having reſigned that lucrative office with the greateſt credit to his abilities and reputation; and is now Auditor General of accompts, a ſtation of equal honour, but inferior in point of emolument: it is, however, attended with much leſs fatigue.

This alteration, though deſirable to him, is particularly unfavourable to me. His patronage as Commiſſary General was very extenſive; and his inclination correſponded with his power to render me eſſential ſervice. He has juſt acquainted me that he had, with a view to my intereſt, deferred for ſome time the filling up a profitable appointment; but learning that I had taken my paſſage by way of the Weſt In-

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dies, he had given up all hopes of ſeeing me in New York; and had, therefore, previous to his reſignation, diſpoſed of the employment to a gentleman who will, in all probability, acquire thereby an ample proviſion, ſhould the war be continued for any length of time.

Thus it appears, that diſappointment is ſtill to deſtroy our hopes of proſperity. But it is folly—nay, it is criminal to indulge an idea of diſcontent. We have ſufficient motives to nouriſh the moſt grateful acknowledgments: we will, therefore, look forward with increaſing confidence, and truſt to heaven alone for the diſpoſal of every future concern.

It is impoſſible to conceive a more magnificent appearance than was exhibited by the departure of the grand fleet, which on the 23d of laſt month, weighed anchor, and ſtood to the eaſtward with a favour-

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favourable breeze. Whither they are bound is to the public an impenetrable ſecret; but if the conſequences are what might be expected from the apparent ſtrength of the armament, ſurely the day is at hand which will happily terminate the complicated miſeries of this unnatural war.

There are thoſe who appear ſanguine enough to believe, that the preſent campaign will aſſuredly prove deciſive, and reſtore the ancient government. It is certain that much may be expected from the operations of the formidable force under the command of Lord and General Howe; and the utmoſt anxiety and impatience prevail for intelligence of their deſtination and proceedings.

Our worthy friend has a delightful ſituation on the banks of the Eaſt River, about five miles diſtant from New York, where he principally reſides during the

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ſummer. In this retirement I have a comfortable apartment, where I enjoy rational ſociety, and an occaſional retreat from the active ſcenes of military arrangements.

Wedneſday, 6th Aug.

I have this inſtant heard of a veſſel preparing to ſail for Liverpool; I muſt therefore poſtpone an account of New York, and its environs, to a future opportunity. Every ſail that I behold will excite the ſtrongeſt emotions of expectation. Surely I ſhall now receive frequent accounts of your health and welfare.

LETTER XXXIX.

York Iſland, Aug. 16, 1777.

HAPPY beneath this hoſpitable roof, I ſeldom viſit the crowded city. At this ſeaſon, the heat of the weather in town, occa-

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occaſioned by the confined air, and the reflection of the ſun, is ſcarcely ſupportable.

We are ſituated oppoſite to a fertile and beautiful part of Long Iſland. Veſſels of every denomination are continually in view; and a variety of pleaſing and intereſting objects contribute to decorate the ſcene, and to render our retirement truly delectable.

In the vicinity of our habitation, is a very dangerous and narrow paſſage of the river, the ſight of which excites ideas of greater terror than the celebrated poetical deſcriptions of Scylla and Charybdis. The tide runs with aſtoniſhing rapidity, and in various currents, only one of which will carry a veſſel through, with any degree of ſafety; for on one ſide there is a ſhoal of rocks that barely make their appearance above the water; and on the other, a dreadful vortex, occaſioned by a rock ſeveral feet

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beneath the ſurface, which attracts and engulphs every object that approaches it. At particular periods of the tide, this tremendous whirlpool appears to boil like foaming cauldrons, accompanied with a hollow terrific ſound, which impreſſes the moſt determined mind with apprehenſions of inevitable deſtruction. The breadth of the river at this place is nearly half a mile, but that of the channel does not exceed eighty yards. This paſſage is only practicable at, and near the height of tide; at any other time it would be extreme raſhneſs to attempt it; and under the moſt favourable circumſtances, the greateſt knowledge and dexterity are requiſite in the navigation.

Attended by ſome ſkilful boatmen, I had the curioſity to ſhoot this formidable gulf, which has, with ſome degree of propriety, obtained the appellation of *Hell-Gate*.

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Gate. The velocity of our motion was, indeed, beyond credibility, through a wonderfully agitated ſtream, accompanied with ſuch dreadful roarings that, confident as I was in the ſkill of my conductors, I heartily repented the temerity of the undertaking, and beheld, in imagination, the inviſible boundary "from which no traveller returns."

York Iſland extends to Kingſbridge, about fourteen miles diſtant from the city; where it is joined to the continent by a ſmall wooden bridge. The narrow deep river, which runs at this place, is a ſufficient ſecurity againſt ſudden incurſions; and the works that are thrown up are ſo exceedingly ſtrong, and in ſuch commanding ſituations, as effectually to exclude the idea of a regular attack.

The capital of this province is ſituated on the ſouthern extremity of the iſland:

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on one ſide runs the north, and on the other the eaſt river; on the latter of which, on account of the harbour, the city is principally built. In ſeveral ſtreets, trees are regularly planted, which afford a grateful ſhelter during the intenſe heat of the ſummer. The buildings are generally of brick, and many are erected in a ſtile of elegance. The ſituation is ſaid to be perfectly healthful, but freſh water is ſo very ſcarce, that the purchaſe of this eſſential article is attended with a conſiderable expenſe.

Notwithſtanding the war, New York is plentifully ſupplied from Long Iſland with proviſions of all kinds. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that almoſt every article bears an exorbitant price, when compared with that of former happy times. Both the north and eaſt rivers abound with a great variety of excellent fiſh. Lobſters, of a prodigious ſize, were, till of late, caught

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caught in vaſt numbers, but it is a fact, ſurpriſing as it may appear, that, ſince the late inceſſant cannonading, they have entirely forſaken the coaſt, not one having been taken, or ſeen, ſince the commencement of hoſtilities.

Into this place and neighbourhood, lobſters were introduced by accident; the province having been formerly ſupplied with them by the fiſhermen of New England, who brought them in well-boats, one of which, in paſſing Hell-Gate, ſtriking againſt a rock, ſeparated, and the lobſters, which eſcaped into their proper element, multiplied ſo exceedingly, that in a ſhort time the markets were amply and reaſonably ſupplied.

Previous to the commencement of this unhappy war, New York was a flouriſhing, populous, and beautiful town. But immediately on the Britiſh troops taking poſſeſſion, it

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it was ſet on fire by ſome deſperate incendiaries, aud near a third part deſtroyed, in ſpite of the utmoſt exertions to prevent the ſpreading conflagration. The flames, at the ſame inſtant, burſt out in a variety of places, which rendered it evident, that this execrable deed was perpetrated from a principle of ill-directed zeal, in order to preclude the royal army from a poſſibility of maintaining, with the leaſt degree of comfort, their important acquiſitions.

Notwithſtanding the late devaſtation, there are ſtill many elegant edifices remaining, which would reflect credit on any metropolis in Europe. The new church is a noble ſtructure: the college is ſpacious and convenient: the barracks are well built, and well accommodated. The Dutch churches, with ſeveral places of worſhip for Proteſtants of different perſuaſions, reflect great credit on the genius of their architects;

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chitects; and the general ſtile which predominates in this city, impreſſes the mind with an idea of neatneſs and taſte.

The numerous fortifications thrown up by the American troops in the vicinity of the capital, appear to be conſtructed with judgment and attention. Why they were ſo precipitately abandoned is difficult to aſcertain: indeed the whole iſland forms a continued chain of batteries and intrenchments, which ſeemed to indicate the moſt reſolute oppoſition.

I have lately made an excurſion to Long Iſland, and was highly entertained in my progreſs through a rich, beautiful, and well cultivated country. At a village named Flatbuſh, I met with ſeveral provincial officers belonging to the Maryland battalions, who had been taken in different actions, and were priſoners on parole; and it was with real ſatisfaction I recognized ſome

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ſome of my old acquaintance, and anſwered their reſpective interrogatories relative to their friends and connexions in that province.

I have, in the courſe of my excurſions, traverſed the whole of York Iſland, and have even attended the relief of the piquet guard without Kingſbridge, which is the advanced poſt of the Britiſh army. It is impoſſible to convey an adequate idea of the intereſting and noble objects which, in every direction, ſtrike the curious and inquiſitive eye. From the city of New York, to the extent of the iſland, we beheld a regular continuation of formidable intrenchments. The troops appear animated in the ſervice; and, ſurely, if their operations are properly conducted, the event cannot but effectually re-eſtabliſh our ancient happy conſtitution on a permanent foundation.

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I frequently partake of a military dinner, and have been hoſpitably entertained by the officers of different corps. As I have no real employment to occupy my time, I often change the ſcene. Variety of objects tends to prevent the intruſion of painful reflections; yet, in ſpite of my beſt efforts, I am almoſt unable to ſtem the tide of ſorrow, when paſt bleſſings riſe up, like phantoms, to my view, and irreſiſtably remind me, "that ſuch things were, and that I once was happy."

I have written by Mr. S—— to Sir Robert Eden, and have tranſmitted him a minute detail of the political ſtate of Maryland. I have repreſented leading characters with truth and impartiality; and have endeavoured to convey a competent idea of the military arrangements, and legiſlative diſpoſitions which have taken place in conſequence of the new ſyſtem of government.

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vernment. He will, probably, give you his ſentiments on the ſubject of my communications.—This I can ſafely aver, that I have delineated circumſtances in their true light, "nor ſet down aught in malice."

4th September.

I am ſomewhat relieved from the anxiety I have experienced. Several letters mention the departure of a fleet for this port, under convoy of the Briſtol, which left England previous to the ſailing of the packet; conſequently they may be hourly expected: by that opportunity I ſhall, aſſuredly, receive intimation of your health and welfare.

We have certain advice, that our formidable armament has proceeded up the Cheſapeak, and that the troops are landed, in high ſpirits, near the head of Elk. My friend Captain H——, who has been here ſome

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ſome time, expects ſailing orders every minute, and ſolicits me to accompany him on the cruize. Should he be directed to Maryland, I have reſolved to attend him; for if we obtain poſſeſſion of that province, my duty and my intereſt will, undoubtedly, require my immediate preſence. But to ſay truth, I cannot poſſibly adopt any plan, with the leaſt ſatisfaction, until I procure information how it is with you, and our deareſt boy.

6th September,

It is confidently reported, that the city of Annapolis, the ſcene of our former happineſs and proſperity, is, by the inevitable calamity of war, reduced to aſhes. I need not obſerve, that very many, whom we have cauſe to love and eſteem, will moſt materially ſuffer in conſequence of this unfortunate event. I am extremely anxious

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to learn the fate of our loyal friends who were neceſſitated, by circumſtances, to remain in that place, and in the neighbourhood. I think it probable, that on the appearance of the Britiſh fleet, the adherents to government were compelled to retire to the interior country.

Captain H—— has not yet learned his deſtination, but ſhould he proceed to the Cheſapeak, it is my fixed intention to accompany him; by which means I ſhall obtain the knowledge of many material circumſtances, which it may be neceſſary to impart to our ſuffering brethren in England.

The provincials have lately made an attack on Staten Iſland, where, during the firſt confuſion, they burned ſome ſtores, and took a few priſoners; but they have paid ſeverely for the attempt. The alarm inſtantly reached an adjacent poſt, and be-

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fore they could effect a retreat they were vigorouſly attacked. About two hundred fell in the action, and near three hundred ſurrendered to the Britiſh detachment. Another party landed about the ſame time on Long Iſland, but on the appearance of oppoſition, quitted it with precipitation. A ſtrong body likewiſe advanced within ſight of our lines at Kingſbridge, but retired on the approach of our light infantry. From theſe movements there is reaſon to believe, that an attack was meditated on New York, in the abſence of our grand army; but, happily, a ſufficient force is left to baffle the beſt concerted attempt.

13th September.

I have, impatiently, expected particulars relative to Annapolis; but, as nothing further is yet circulated, I am inclined to indulge hope that the account which was propagated is without foundation.

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Nothing of real importance has yet tranſpired from Lord Howe and the general; which is rather extraordinary, as we have had certain information of our troops having effected a landing at the head of the Cheſapeak; and that they were in the vicinity of the American army.

A report is circulated, that General Burgoyne has totally defeated the northern army, under the command of General Gates. If true—the conſequences muſt be glorious and deciſive.

The Briſtol, and her convoy, are hourly expected—but by no one with more impatience than by your faithful, &c.

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LETTER XL.

New York, Sept. 20, 1777.

WE have intelligence of the moſt intereſting and pleaſing nature. It is ſaid that General Waſhington has ſuffered a total defeat in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. Should this report, which is generally credited, be well founded, this deſtructive war will ſurely be quickly terminated.

I am happy to inform you, that the account reſpecting Annapolis was totally without foundation. Hitherto Maryland has not experienced the actual ſcourge of war; may the ſweet return of peace exempt her from participating in the almoſt general calamity.

On the appearance of the Britiſh fleet in the Cheſapeak, the loyaliſts throughout

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that province were obliged to retire to a remote diſtance from navigable waters. There is certainly reaſon to credit this report, as I have only heard of two gentlemen who have eluded the vigilance of the ruling powers, and joined the royal army in their paſſage up the bay.

1ſt October.

The Thames is ſailed for the Cheſapeak. I have been diſſuaded from accompanying Captain H—— and my friends on board that ſhip, by the earneſt advice of Mr. C—, who juſtly obſerved, "that as our troops "had not made any deſcent on the weſt-"ern ſhore of Maryland, I could not ren-"der any eſſential ſervice to myſelf, or "others, by an excurſion thither." But another reaſon more forcibly operates to detain me in my preſent ſituation—the conſtant anxiety I experience to obtain intelligence

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telligence relative to the welfare of my dearest wife and son.

8th October.

On Saturday last arrived the packet. Your letters, which informed me that you were well and happy, relieved my mind from a most painful and tedious state of disquietude.

On the same day an expedition took place under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, and commodore Hotham. Their destination was up the North River; and this instant we have received the particulars of their operations. Fort Montgomery, and Fort Clinton, have been taken by storm; and in the capture of these places, it was doubtful whether bravery or humanity was most predominant.

Count Gabrouski, a young Polish nobleman, who arrived in the late fleet from

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England, ſerved as a volunteer in this expedition; and in thoſe ranks, where every individual diſplayed the utmoſt heroiſm, his diſtinguiſhed coolneſs and intrepidity, attracted univerſal admiration. In ruſhing forward to the enemy's works, againſt a heavy and well directed fire, he received many wounds, and fell at the foot of their intrenchments. His death was not immediate;—he lived to rejoice in victory! The undaunted deportment of the Britiſh grenadiers excited his applauſe, even in the moment of diſſolution. He ſpoke with rapture of that enthuſiaſtic ardour which animated the whole as one body; and he deſired that his remains might be depoſited on the memorable ſpot, where his gallant aſſociates had gained ſuch honor. It is ſaid, he entreated Lord Rawdon, in a very handſome compliment, to wear that ſword which he had ſo recently drawn in ſupport of the claims of Britain; and then

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then paid the inevitable debt, with that intrepidity of ſpirit which determined his conduct, and led him forward to his fate.

It is expected the ſucceſs which has attended this expedition, will greatly facilitate the operations of General Burgoyne, who, after having ſurmounted infinite dangers and difficulties, has certainly advanced into the neighbourhood of Albany.

Such variety of contradictory reports are daily circulated relative to the real ſituation of the army under his command, that at preſent all is mere conjecture, without any certain ground on which to erect hope, or admit deſpondency. There are thoſe who conceive, that General Howe ought to have conducted his firſt efforts, to complete a junction with the northern army; and then to have directed the united force of the Britiſh arms, wherever their exertions

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exertions would have been moſt effectual. But without due information of thoſe important facts, that influence the proceedings of our commanders, it is illiberal and ungenerous, to cenſure or condemn. The beſt concerted plans are frequently defective in execution; and the ſeeming hand of chance often leads to ſucceſs the moſt brilliant and deciſive.

1ſt November.

At length *ſuſpenſe* is determined by *certainty*. I am preparing for my immediate —perhaps final—departure from America. The unfavourable aſpect of public affairs compels me to this neceſſary meaſure; and I muſt, in conſequence, encounter the inconveniences of a winter's paſſage. But the predominant idea of being ſpeedily reſtored to the ſociety of a beloved wife and ſon, will ſmooth the rugged billows, and diſ-

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ſipate every apprehenſion of difficulty or danger.

General Burgoyne has been neceſſitated to ſurrender himſelf with his army. The particulars of this unhappy, unexpected event, are not yet public; but it is ſtrongly aſſerted, that the want of proviſions, and not the amazing ſuperiority of the enemy, obliged our gallant general to ſubmit to the inevitable fate of war.

An univerſal dejection has followed: every loyal countenance bears the moſt evident impreſſions of ſorrow and diſappointment. The exaltation of our adverſaries is doubtleſs in full proportion to our mortification: for certainly this important ſucceſs will animate their efforts in the proſecution of the war; give credit and ſtrength to their political negotiations, and render dubious the event of a conteſt, which

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which appeared rapidly approaching to a desirable issue.

The duty which fell to the share of General Burgoyne, was infinitely more hazardous than the allotment of our other commanders; and, I am sorry to observe, it is the prevailing opinion, that there has been some neglect in the proper arrangements necessary to have secured success. But leaving these matters which are too high for me, and enter not within my limited sphere of action, I shall confine my observations to domestic concernments.

A fleet is expected to sail from this place for Cork in about fourteen days, in which I have taken my passage on board a convenient vessel. An officer, and his lady, with whom I am intimately acquainted, bear me company in the voyage; so that before the conclusion of the year, I trust we shall be re-united. May we never

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never again experience the anxiety and ſorrow of ſeparation.

My worthy friend, under whoſe hoſpitable roof I have experienced every engaging mark of diſintereſted attachment, is determined, if poſſible, to increaſe my ſenſe of the obligations I am under to him. Though comparative plenty abounds in this garriſon, yet almoſt every needful article bears ſo exorbitant a price, that in the preſent reduced ſtate of my finances, my proportion of ſtores for the paſſage to Europe, would require a greater expenditure than I am well able to ſupport. Mr. C—— has, therefore, generouſly inſiſted on ſupplying me with every requiſite; ſo that unleſs our voyage ſhould be uncommonly tedious, I ſhall be enabled, by his bounty, to fare ſumptuouſly every day. Perhaps, within the extenſive circuit of the Britiſh dominions, there is not a cha-

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a character more univerſally beloved, or reſpected, than the exalted man to whom I am ſo deeply indebted *.

It is adviſeable to guard againſt every poſſible accident. Our ſhip may be ſeparated

* This worthy perſonage was ſuddenly tranſlated to a better ſtate on the 27th of November, 1778. At that aweful moment he was ſurrounded by ſome valued friends, and the inſtant before his diſſolution, he appeared in the full poſſeſſion of health and chearfulneſs. The author, on receiving intelligence of this fatal event, addreſſed the following letter to the Editor of the Morning Chronicle, which was inſerted in that paper, February 11, 1779.

"SIR,

"Through the channel of your extenſive and impartial paper, permit me to offer a juſt tribute to the memory of an invaluable man, whoſe death will long be pathetically lamented, and whoſe innumerable virtues endeared him, even in the midſt of hoſtile commotions, to the love and veneration of contending parties.

"Daniel Chamier, Eſq; late Auditor General to the Britiſh army in America, reſided many years in the province of Maryland, and in the diſcharge of various important offices, was particularly diſtinguiſhed as a faithful

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rated from the convoy, and we may fall into the enemies hands; as in that caſe we ſhall probably be detained in ſome American port until an exchange takes place;

faithful ſervant to the public, and a valuable member of ſociety.

" On his quitting that government, to act in an honourable department in the ſervice of the Crown, even the leaders in the preſent controverſy ſpoke of him in terms of the higheſt veneration: they were aſſured, that the uncommon benevolence of his diſpoſition would extend to every perſon, independent of political tenets, who might be reduced by the viciſſitudes of war, to implore his generous aſſiſtance.

" When hoſtilities unhappily commenced between the parent ſtate and her miſguided colonies, this great! this worthy man! then exerted himſelf in a more exalted ſphere! The loyaliſt, who abandoned his family and property, compelled by the rigid hand of perſecution, and who preferred his integrity to every inducement of avarice or ambition, found in him a ſympathizing benefactor, by whom he was hoſpitably received, his neceſſities amply ſupplied, and every relief extended that his fortune or influence could poſſibly afford.

" The priſoner experienced no leſs the effects of his unlimited compaſſion: amongſt thoſe who were captured

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place; I muſt entreat you to continue writing, by every opportunity, to New York, that at leaſt a chance may be afforded me to hear of your welfare.

tured by the incidents of war, many were the huſbands, the ſons, and friends of them with whom he had been formerly connected. By his intereſt he procured them particular indulgences; he advanced conſiderable ſums for their immediate occaſions, and exerted every effort to alleviate the idea of captivity, and render them comfortable in their peculiar ſituations. In a word, the utmoſt hoſpitality marked the whole of his conduct, and the innate goodneſs of his heart beamed forth in every action.

"Such was the man for whom the prayers of multitudes were fervently offered; but, alas! the will of heaven ſuddenly removed him from this terreſtrial ſtate, to receive an eternal recompenſe for his faithful diſcharge of every relative duty.

"To enter fully into the character of this very excellent perſon, would greatly exceed my abilities, and lead me into a field of prolixity. Suffice it to ſay, that in him his ſovereign has loſt a moſt loyal animated ſubject; his country an invaluable citizen; his wife a tender indulgent huſband; and the writer of this letter (with numbers who have felt the miſeries of this unnatural contention) has loſt the moſt faithful affectionate friend! the moſt generous humane benefactor!"

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Should I have the happineſs to arrive ſafe at Cork, I ſhall immediately ſend you intelligence, with an account of the courſe I intend to purſue, in order to complete my voyage. But it is moſt probable I ſhall proceed directly to Briſtol, which will be leſs expenſive than by way of Dublin; and by which means I may be enabled to pay a melancholy viſit to the monument of my once much beloved Powell! I ſhall alſo have the ſatisfaction to renew a perſonal connexion with thoſe valued friends, who were ſolemn ſpectators of the concluding ſcene of that celebrated actor's life, which ſo ſtrongly evinced the force of the ruling paſſion, even under the awful circumſtances of death *.

Adieu. Be conſtantly prepared for my reception, and believe me unalterably yours.

* See Letter II.

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LETTER XLI.

Cork, Dec. 16, 1777.

THANKS to Almighty God I am ſafely arrived at my deſired port, after a pleaſant and expeditious paſſage.

On the 15th of November I took an affectionate leave of our generous hoſpitable friends; on the 18th we quitted the coaſt; on the 13th inſtant we ſtruck ſoundings; and yeſterday, in the evening, landed at a village named Paſſage; took poſt horſes, and were ſet down in this city in time to procure a good ſupper, and convenient lodging.

The hurry and buſtle of this place bears ſome reſemblance to our great metropolis. The ſtreets are crowded with buſy multitudes; many of the ſhops have a hand-

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ſome appearance; and the habitations of the principal merchants, ſufficiently indicate their wealth and commercial importance. The incredible quantities of proviſions, which are preparing for exportation, cannot but excite the higheſt ideas of the trade and conſequence of this flouriſhing port. The variety of canals, bridges, and wharfs, are likewiſe deſerving of admiration. By their canals, ſhips of conſiderable burden are laden at the merchant's doors; and the wharfs, which are convenient and extenſive, are covered with innumerable commodities, principally for the ſupply of the army and navy in America.

By my friend Mr. C———, I was favoured with a letter of introduction to Mr. B——, a merchant of great reſpectability in this port; from whom I have received a frank and general invitation to his table,

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during the time that inclination or neceſſity may detain me in this city.

There are few perſons in whom the paſſion of curioſity is more predominant than in myſelf; and the environs of Cork promiſe abundant gratification to an inquiſitive mind; but as the firſt object of my purſuit relates to you, and to our deareſt boy, I have no wiſh for an opportunity to make any excurſion, foreign to the thoughts that engroſs my mind in my preſent ſituation.

Paſſage, Dec. 25.

Yeſterday I took leave of Cork, and came to this place in order to embark for Briſtol. About noon we expect to ſail.

I ſhall quit Ireland with deep impreſſions of gratitude. The entertainment I have experienced, greatly exceeds the high ideas I had been taught to form of Iriſh hoſpitality. May they continue to enjoy every bleſſing

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bleſſing which liberty, induſtry, and proſperity can afford.

I ſhall leave this to be forwarded by the poſt. Should a favourable gale crown my wiſhes, it is poſſible—nay, probable—that I may be happily re-united to my deareſt partner, before ſhe will receive this fervent aſſurance of my unalterable attachment. The hour—the long expected hour—is at hand, which will reſtore to us the bleſſings of domeſtic felicity. Adieu.

LETTER XLII.

Ilfracomb, Devon, 27th Dec.

I AM ſafely landed on my native ſhore. The poſt departs for London within an hour: I gladly embrace the opportunity

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nity to give you an account of my ſafe arrival, and explain the circumſtances which occaſioned an alteration in my intended route.

I embarked at Paſſage on Chriſtmas-day, but the wind would not permit us to ſail till the enſuing morning. From thence to the iſle of Lundy we had a prodigious run, having accompliſhed near fifty leagues in about twenty-four hours. The wind then became contrary, and we were happy to gain this harbour, where the maſter of the veſſel means to await an alteration of weather in his favour.

The diſtance from this place to Briſtol is reckoned twenty-five leagues; but on account of the ſtrong tides which prevail in this channel, ſhort as the paſſage is, it cannot well be attempted againſt an adverſe wind; and as preſent appearances do not indicate a ſpeedy change, I have deter-

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determined to reſign the plan of proſecuting the voyage, and ſhall, therefore, depart by land, the inſtant my baggage has paſſed the neceſſary examination.

When you receive your huſband to your faithful arms, let every anxious idea be excluded—let us unite in recounting paſt deliverances, and be thus animated to look forward with gratitude and confidence. Our diſappointments and our misfortunes have originated from inevitable cauſes; and if adverſity ſhould ſtill continue to oppoſe our beſt endeavours, we muſt derive conſolation from reflecting that we have acted conſiſtent with the ſentiments which we profeſſed, and with a conſcientious regard to the duties of that ſtation in which Providence had placed us, always remembering that though

" 'Tis not in mortals to command ſucceſs,
" They may do more——DESERVE IT."

FINIS.

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